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CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS

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A Life-Sketch

By

CHARLES FORSTER SMITH

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
MADISON
1924

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CONTENTS

Preface 5

Chapter I Early Years—University of Michigan Period 7

Chapter II President Adams at Cornell 23

Chapter III President Adams at the University of Wisconsin 35

Chapter IV President Adams Breaks Down..... 74

Chapter V Last Days in California 89

Chapter VI President Adams' Bequests to the University of Wisconsin 104

Chapter VII General Appraisal: As President and as Man 109

Chapter VIII The First and the Second Mrs. Adams..... 135

Chapter IX President Adams as Writer. Bibliography..... 146

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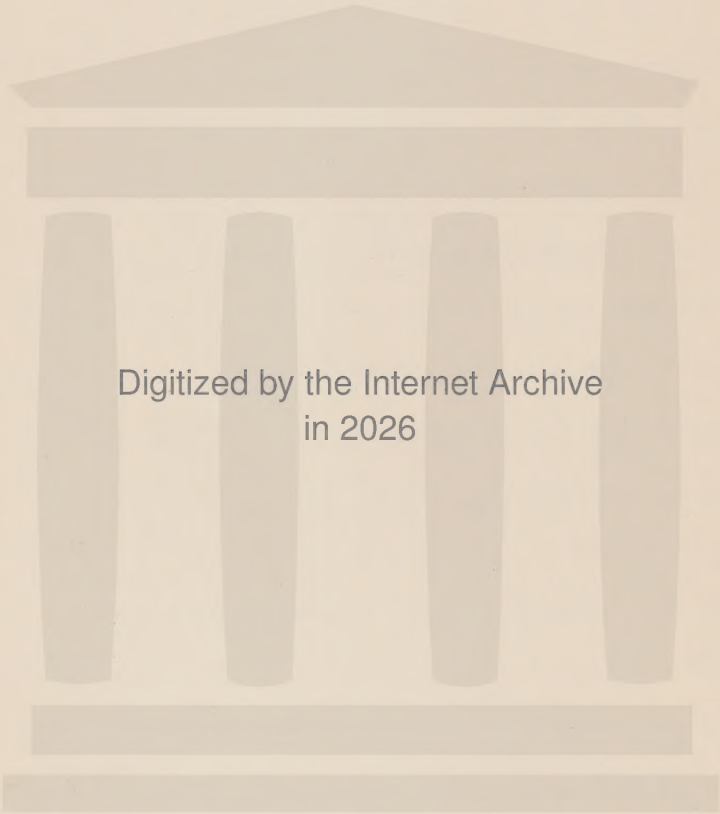
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PREFACE

It has been difficult to find material for a life-sketch of President Adams. He died in Redlands, California, twenty-two years ago, and his personal papers and private correspondence have been lost, or at least cannot now be traced. At the University of Wisconsin most of his official papers and correspondence have disappeared, probably due to the fire which some years ago damaged Bascom Hall. His correspondence with ex-President Andrew D. White and Professor Moses Coit Tyler is preserved in considerable volume in the archives of Cornell University, and that I have read, and drawn upon to some extent. But little of it refers to Wisconsin, and in a volume to be published by the regents of this University, in which main stress should be laid upon his work for this institution, it did not seem proper to give most space to Cornell. For his career at the University of Michigan and at the University of Wisconsin I have had to depend mainly upon the memory of friends and the letters that his former colleagues have been willing to write. But even here I have had much disappointment. The memory even of prominent men quickly fades in the minds of their sometime associates.

I have used all accessible material, but in spite of diligent effort what I had hoped to make an adequate biography has become only a brief life-sketch. He was an able president, a lover of this University, a good man, and my work has been a labor of love. I wish I might have laid a worthier wreath on the tomb of my loyal friend.

CHAPTER I

EARLY YEARS—UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN PERIOD

Charles Kendall Adams was the only son of Charles and Maria (Shedd) Adams. He was born January 24, 1835, in Derby, a township in Vermont on the eastern shore of Lake Memphremagog and next to the Canadian line. His grandfather was David E. Adams,[1] and his earliest known ancestor William Adams, who emigrated from England in 1635. C. K. Adams' father was born December 21, 1802, married June 2, 1825, and died February 5, 1882. His mother was born October 27, 1807. He had two sisters: Susan Augusta Adams, born March 30, 1826, died November 19, 1838; Emma Maria Adams, born September 10, 1840, married to James S. Stanton, July 30, 1859, bore a son, Charles Adams Stanton, January 7, 1862, and died January 25, 1862.

The father's birthplace was New Ipswich, on the southern border of New Hampshire, but he removed in 1832, more than two years before the birth of his son, to the north line of Vermont, because he was a hatter by trade and nearness to the hunters would give him an advantage in the matter of furs. Three days after his birth, his mother with her babe was driven by fire from their house, as he told at a dinner party on his last birthday. Before Charles Kendall reached his teens his father acquired a farm two miles west of the village of Derby and became a farmer. The farm lay along a lake, one mile broad and three miles long, and the house, of a story and a half, lay between a maple grove and a hill, looking out upon the lake, the town, and the hills beyond. The chief industry of the region was the raising of stock, especially of sheep. On

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[1]This is an inference from an inscription—"David E. Adams, 1829—" in an old bible that came among the books of Charles Kendall Adams into the possession of the Wisconsin Historical Library, along with his father's bible, inscribed "A gift from his affectionate son, C. K. Adams, Jan. 2, 1875."

this farm the lad spent the remaining years of his boyhood, doubtless assisting his father in the work of the farm. I have heard that he used to attend and later teach in the district schools in Vermont. He was doubtless thus engaged in the winter season, assisting his father on the farm in the summer time. We are told that he taught his first district school at the age of seventeen. In 1856 he migrated with his parents to Iowa, and I think it was from his own lips I learned that he began the westward journey holding in his hand a copy of Shakespeare that had been overlooked in packing up. In Iowa his father purchased a farm at Denmark, a rural town fifteen miles south of Burlington, which remains to this day without railway connections. There father and son worked together on the farm, and to that period doubtless belongs the story—told, I think, by Professor J. C. Freeman—that the young man would sometimes, as he ploughed, have a book before him on the plough-stock, while the beast made furrows at its will until he awoke from his absorption. Dr. James Davie Butler, of Madison, writing after his death, says, "Charles was a six-footer and black-eyed, but his eyelids had a drowsy droop, which he never outgrew, and his make-up was rather uncouth." The same authority says also that ill success in a love affair "drove him to the bitter-sweet medicine of the Latin grammar in Denmark Academy", the oldest school of its class west of the Mississippi, chartered before Iowa became a state.

At any rate he was past twenty-one when he began to study Latin and thus formally to prepare for college, and he seems to have condensed his whole preparation into one year. Dr. Butler quotes from a letter he had received from the old principal of the Academy: "He did not give promise of the career he attained. His mind was neither quick nor brilliant. He was slow both in bodily and in mental traits. The boys called him 'Dig'. It is no wonder that when head of Cornell he was nicknamed 'Farmer Adams'. But from the first his insistent and persistent toughness, diligent and dogged, fitted him to become an investigator."

Entering the University of Michigan when nearly twenty-three, "he was", says Dr. Butler, "the oldest among scores, and

probably the most wretchedly fitted." President Adams gave me long afterwards the impression that it was kindly leniency on the part of his examiners that allowed him to enter, and only the helpful human sympathy of Professor Boise at his first recitation gave him courage to hold up his head after that first failure. But I shall always remember the grateful enthusiasm with which on my first interview he spoke of that great teacher. Perhaps his life-long partiality for Greek—in which his own preparatory training had been too hurried and meager to enable him to become a thorough scholar—was due in large part to Professor Boise's sympathy and encouragement.

Information as to his student days is very meager in detail. We know that he worked his way through college. Registrar Hiestand, of the University of Wisconsin, remembers his saying that during his freshman year he lived largely upon milk and sweet apples, because he could in that way get most food for the money. He earned money by manual labor and by helping in the library. From the start he had the habit of buying good books and reading them. "I worked my way through college," he said in his opening address to new students in 1894, "and was poorer than any of you can be; but in my freshman year I saved money enough to buy a dozen good books in general literature, and I read them. There is nothing in my whole career I am prouder of than that." Professor Snow remembers that this habit of buying a dozen good books each year, besides his text books, was kept up throughout his whole course at the university. President Angell of the University of Michigan, speaking of his student days, says: "He was one of the oldest men in his class. He was a most assiduous student. By his maturity and weight of character rather than by his scholarship, which was hampered by his slender preparation, he wielded a decided influence over his comrades. But his classmates say that, great as was their respect for him, they would hardly have predicted for him the conspicuous success of his life. His achievements outran the promise which they saw in him in

his college days.[1] Students often err in their estimate of each other's future, because they overrate the worth of mere brilliancy, and underrate the power of intellectual balance and solidity combined with persistence, earnest purpose and high character to win the best kind of success. His indomitable resolve to overcome all obstacles and achieve success as a scholar and a teacher was well known to his intimate friends. One of his roommates tells me that in his college days Mr. Adams made a careful and prolonged study of the great English essayists, with the deliberate purpose of acquiring an effective style in writing. He also informs me that our friend used often to cite as a worthy example for one who encountered obstructions in his path the exclamation of Disraeli, who on his first attempt to speak in the House of Commons was laughed down. 'You shall hear me yet!' cried Disraeli, and then in due time forced his way to the front. This explains his rather remarkable admiration for that somewhat histrionic statesman, whom he chose in his mature years as a subject of two lyceum lectures. It was the invincible purpose of the man to achieve his end that commanded Mr. Adams' respect and touched a kindred chord in his own nature. A similar invincible purpose to accomplish whatever end he set before him was, I should say, President Adams' most characteristic trait."

Nothing seems to be known now as to young Adams' student intimacies; but it is safe to say that the professors to whom he was most attached were Andrew D. White, Professor of History, H. S. Frieze, Professor of Latin, and J. R. Boise, Professor of Greek. I remember when I first met him in Nashville, Tennessee, in March, 1894, he talked more about Frieze and Boise than any others, probably because of my own especial interests; but there can be no doubt that the professor who most appealed to him and influenced him was the young Andrew D. White. The proof is contained in his own words,

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[1]One of his old students recalls "his annual remark to his new classes, to the effect that it is not always the brightest scholar who attains the highest position in life." "We considered it," adds this informant, "a reference to his own experience, in view of the fact that while in college he was not considered a brilliant student."

the dedication of his book on *Democracy and Monarchy in France*:

> To Andrew D. White LL.D., President of Cornell University.
> My dear Friend: I have long regarded it as the most fortunate circumstance of my collegiate life that, during the five years of your active service as Professor of History in the University of Michigan, I was in the same institution, pursuing either undergraduate or post-graduate studies. To the inspiration of your lectures and your advice, more than to any other cause, I owe my fondness for historical study.

The attraction seems to have been mutual, and it was young Adams' omnivorous reading of books, especially of histories, which, according to President Angell, attracted the especial attention of Professor White, who, on leaving the University in 1862, asked that Mr. Adams be appointed instructor in history.

President Angell, in his memorial address, tells of other important characteristics that distinguished young Adams as a student:

> Mr. Adams was an actively religious student, and was one of the founders of the Students' Christian Association, which was the first organization of that kind ever formed in an American college. While pursuing graduate studies in 1862, he took charge, for a time, of one of the public schools of Ann Arbor. He regarded it as his religious duty to open the school with devotional services. Some parents having objected to this, the school committee asked him to refrain from the practice. With characteristic devotion to the dictates of his conscience, he chose to resign rather than comply with the request. President Tappan, having heard of this act of fidelity to his principles, which involved a pecuniary sacrifice he was scarcely able to make, gave him a subordinate appointment in the university library. Here was opened to him the opportunity of gratifying his passion for the use of books. During his whole college course he was an omnivorous reader.

At commencement 1861 he was graduated, as Bachelor of Arts, from the University of Michigan. The following year he pursued a course of graduate study, and in 1862 became instructor in history. The place he now came into was not easy to fill. The chair of history had been occupied from 1857 to 1862 by Andrew D. White, a young man of brilliant intellect, excellent training supplemented by European travel and study, and a most attractive personality. White was only three years older than Adams and had entered upon his professorship of

history in the same year that Adams entered as freshman, and it is a fascinating picture the pupil gave later of his young professor:

> He came to Ann Arbor fresh from European studies, and he entered upon his labors with that peculiar enthusiasm which is instantly caught by students, and is perhaps the most successful element of all good teaching. His instruction in history was a genuine revelation to those who had been accustomed to perfunctory text-book work and the hearing of dry and colorless lectures. The exceptional excellence of his instruction consisted largely of the spirit which he infused into his students. He had in a remarkable degree the rare gift of seizing upon the most important principles and causes of events and presenting them in such a manner as to illuminate the whole course of events with which they were connected. He not only instructed, but, what was even more important, he inspired. While he remained in his chair perhaps no study in the University was pursued with so much enthusiasm by the mass of students as was that of history.

At another time he wrote to Herbert B. Adams:

> President White, in 1857, brought an enthusiasm to his new chair that sent a sort of historical glow through all the veins and arteries of the University. This was done mainly through his lectures, which combined instruction and inspiration in a very remarkable degree.

Such a teacher as White was excellent to be under, but very hard to follow. White was unquestionably brilliant; Adams was solid and industrious, but neither quick nor brilliant. It was inevitable that the early work of such an instructor, brought into sharp contrast with White's brilliant lectures, would be considered dry and uninteresting. Besides, he was at first instructor in Latin as well as history, and his slender preparation for college had not fitted him for conspicuous success in that. Perhaps the impression made as teacher of Latin reacted upon his position in history. So it is not strange that President Angell says, "His earlier years of teaching were therefore attended with some rather serious trials."

He was for four years (1863-67) assistant professor of history and then advanced to a full professorship, leave of absence being granted for a year and a half for further study in German and French universities. It was to his wife, it would seem, that he was chiefly indebted for this opportunity of foreign study. He had married Mrs. Abigail Disbrow Mudge on August 13, 1863, having been associated with her in the public

school of which he was principal for a time during his first year after graduation. She had given up teaching and was conducting a boarding house at the time of their marriage. His colleague, Professor D'Ooge, of the Department of Greek, is authority for the statement that it was "through her efforts and assistance that Mr. Adams was enabled to take his first trip abroad for travel and study. He made good use of the opportunity, hearing lectures at Leipzig, Munich, Heidelberg and Berlin, as well as in Paris, not only studying history but closely observing university methods abroad. Herbert B. Adams says:

> Important modifications in the historical work of the University of Michigan followed the appointment of Professor Adams. In 1868 history was again emphasized in the requirements for admission to the university. A knowledge of the outlines of Roman history from the foundation of the city to the battle of Actium, and of Grecian history from the beginning of the Persian war to the death of Alexander, was exacted. Not only classical history but the history of the United States till the close of the Revolutionary War, was demanded. The combination of ancient and modern requirements was a great step forward; indeed it was a greater advance than most Americans colleges have since made. Physical geography, with ancient and modern political geography, was one of the subjects for examination by the historical department—a natural and proper arrangement. Even candidates for the scientific courses were required to pass an historical examination, at first upon the history of the United States, but finally upon some manual of general history, like Swinton's, Anderson's, or Freeman's *General Sketch of European History.*

History was offered, as required or elective study, in all four years of the college course. Greek and Roman history was taught to freshmen by the classical professors. Modern history was offered to sophomores as an elective, alternative with calculus, the course consisting of daily lectures during most of the second semester on the period from the revival of learning to the end of the Thirty Years' War. Juniors had a course in Guizot daily throughout the first semester, with Robertson and Hallam as parallel reading. The seniors had lectures from Professor Adams for two hours per week in the second semester, on the Growth of Liberty in England and on the Constitution of the United States. By 1871 this had developed into an elective course for the entire senior year.

It is clear that Professor Adams was steadily, if not rapidly, overcoming his handicap as successor to the brilliant Andrew D. White. April 3, 1880, the students' organ, *The Chronicle,* states: "The courses in history are becoming the most popular electives in the University. This marks a growing change in the idea of what an education should consist." And President Angell says: "In connection with his seminary work he gave for years courses of lectures on history, which attracted the attention of the whole University and forever silenced the charge that he was uninteresting. Citizens of the town crowded his lecture-room until there was not space to receive them. Many of these lectures he gave with marked success as a non-resident lecturer at Cornell University 1881-5. Those who had the good fortune to hear his lectures, or who have read his published works, will recall his remarkable power of seizing upon the salient features of an epoch and of describing with vividness the forces which determine the growth or cause the decline of nations."

Perhaps no other single innovation introduced by Professor Adams at the University of Michigan was as important as his introduction of the seminary method of instruction for advanced students. In the president's report to the board of regents for 1871-2 occurs the first printed reference to this change. In that report Professor Adams says that ever since his period of study in Europe he had desired to introduce something like the work of the *Historiche Gesellschaft* of the German universities. At the beginning of the preceding year, after consultation with the president and with the faculty of his department, he had met the members of the senior class and explained the purpose of the experiment he was proposing. Twenty-seven members of the class offered to take an extended course of historical study, even in addition to the regular senior work; whereupon the faculty made this course a regular elective. The growth of the British Constitution was made the subject of study for that semester. Twelve questions embracing important topics from the Saxon period to the reforms of 1832 were given to the class, with reference to the best authorities in the university library. The class was divided into sections of six

to ten members each, and each section was to meet once a week for two hours, when one member would read a carefully prepared essay on the question before them, each of the other members also stating the results of his own study on the same subject. In this manner the class gained a knowledge of the leading events in the growth of the English constitution, and became familiar at the same time with the best works on the civil and political history of the Anglo-Saxon race. In the second semester the same plan was pursued in the study of the constitution of the United States. The success, the professor stated, had been greater than could have been anticipated. The enthusiasm of the students was marked, and the historical work of the class pursued with this method the most satisfactory that had been done under his direction. The amount of instruction demanded had been greater, but the enthusiasm and success of the students had fully demonstrated the wisdom of the step that had been taken. Essentially that method was followed thereafter, each student being required to read before the class in the course of the semester one thesis, from half an hour to an hour in length, and one critique; the thesis discussing one of the historical questions given out at the beginning, and the critique being on a thesis by one of the other members. Every student was required to investigate each week the question of that week and to come to class prepared to give the results of his investigation. The professor would, of course, make such comments and criticisms as appeared to be called for.

Professor Adams himself was especially well pleased with the results obtained by the seminary method. We learn this in an extract from a letter to Moses Coit Tyler. There would seem to have been talk of calling him to Cornell to a chair of history, or possibly the presidency was already being broached. Whatever it may have been, he thus writes to Professor Tyler:

> Ann Arbor, June 9, 1883. It is too important a matter to decide absolutely without the most careful thought. But my first impulse is to say that it would probably be unwise for me to go there even on the generous terms you suggest. I should have ample field there for influence and work, but I do not think it would be so great as it is here. The fact is my work during the past year has interested me far more than ever before, and there has never been a time when I

should leave with so much reluctance as now. I refer especially to the work of our political seminary. Several of the theses here produced are quite worthy of publication and I hope some of them will ere long find their way into print. Another consideration has considerable influence with me. A friend of the school and of my work has put into my hands $2500, with the declaration, "I give you this money on one condition, which is absolute, as follows, that my name shall not be mentioned to anybody. Ask no advice, but buy with it what books you want, and when that is gone I will send you more." With this fund I have already bought *Hansard, The Calendars of State Papers, The Rolls Series of Statutes at Large,* various colonial records, historical society publications, besides about four hundred volumes of books in French and German. These are to form the seminary library, or what I have sometimes called the historical laboratory. They are to be in a room by themselves in the new building and are to constitute the furniture of the investigator's workshop. How can I leave such a field? It is true all that could be done at Cornell; but at present you won't do it. It will be years, and I should fret over delays and missteps, and old age would come on before I was ready for it. So it looks at the present moment. More mature thought may change my views, but I feel pretty sure that nothing that is likely to occur at Cornell or elsewhere is likely to be an effective enticement.

One of Dr. Adams' former students, now one of the leading historical scholars of the country, has recently given me an estimate of the seminary work done at the University of Michigan in that early period:

In my senior year (1882), I took his so-called seminary. He had begun teaching that way after his return from Europe a few years before. The method had attracted attention and was of influence, I judge, in developing similar or better methods elsewhere. The work was not wholly research, but rather essay work: the students read essays on assigned topics, and after the essay had been read Adams commented. The writing was good practice. Of course the essay type of seminar is still in use, more or less, and there is much to be said for it. But in my time there was little discussion and mighty little originality. The discussions, when they did occur, were a kind of ignorant debating. Still Adams, in these courses, did break away from the old system of holding a class. . . . No one can doubt that he helped to build up respectable methods of historical instruction.

Professor Lucy M. Salmon, of Vassar College, who was a member of his classes both as undergraduate and graduate,

gives substantially the same estimate:

> I question whether it is quite true to say that he introduced the seminary method of instruction into this country. It should rather be called emancipation from the text-book and independent work along the line of topics. It certainly was not, in any sense of the word, the seminary method as it has been understood in Germany. We all had certain topics assigned, probably two in a semester, and we worked at these according to our own ideas.

The seminary method of instruction was of course a transition from undergraduate to graduate work, and it is natural to proceed next to Dr. Adams' influence in that direction. On this subject my first informant says:

> Just before he left Cornell, some three or four years before, he was interested in developing graduate work. He was one of the few men who really were in earnest. Professor George W. Knight of Ohio State and Miss Lucy M. Salmon of Vassar took graduate work with him. Both turned out very creditable and useful theses. Adams certainly deserves much credit for the ambition to build up graduate work at Michigan, when little was done anywhere, especially west of the further East. His ambition in this respect and a very broad university policy were accountable for a good deal of jealousy, or, if that be unfair, criticism and misgiving among some of his colleagues. I think he was by no means always tactful; but I think also that if he had been it would have made little difference. The movement toward graduate work of really sound and substantial character, and especially research, was a slow movement, necessarily slow, and those favoring it and pushing it forty years ago and more were in for a hard time. I vaguely believe—for after I entered the faculty at Ann Arbor there was still much talk and gossip—that Adams was not always wise; but I also look back on those days as being needlessly embittered by a measure of unnecessary petty-mindedness. Adams probably was too self-confident and eager to move too rapidly, and he had not the art of winning folks by a gracious and compelling attractive personality. But he was essentially sound and his general views of university character and policy were pretty wide and generous.

The process of development at the University of Michigan from the old order to the new, or toward graduate work, was largely aided again, says H. B. Adams, by the School of Political Science and by the personal influence of Charles Kendall Adams, its first dean. He championed the university idea at Michigan in a number of letters to *The Nation,* which, along

with official documents of the time, show that the historical department was foremost in the new movement. The School of Political Science was formally opened October 3, 1881, with an address by the dean, in which he demonstrated the necessity of political education by reference to conditions obtaining in the three chief branches of government—the judiciary, the legislative and the executive—emphasizing also two other important fields of influence—the press and the platform. The university, he said, has practically fixed the dividing line for its own students at the close of the second year, and there would begin the work of the School of Political Science, based upon required work in the ancient and modern languages, mathematics, and natural science.

The organization of the School of Political Science was speedily followed by the establishment of a Political Science Association, with the object of drawing the teachers and students of the School into closer and more sympathetic intercourse, and by mutual contact to foster a spirit of scholarly and original research. It was a sort of enlarged historical seminary, or a monthly public session of the seminary with an historico-political program of more general appeal. Papers were read by the president of the University and by professors of the School, and some papers that had been read before the seminary were repeated here.

From these new features of university work we see how active and influential Adams had been as professor during the whole time after his period of European study, and especially in the last three or four years before he was called to the presidency of Cornell University in 1885. But his interests and activities were by no means limited to his strictly professorial duties. From the time of his study abroad he was, President Angell said, a most careful observer and student of the organization and policies of colleges and universities.

> He thus became more than a mere professor of history. In every large university faculty there are found some excellent teachers, who are, however, entirely absorbed in their own special work, and concern themselves little with the problems to be solved in determining the general policy of the institution. Professor Adams, while faithful to the last degree in the discharge of all his duties as a

teacher of history, was always deeply interested in all that could contribute in any way to the general welfare of the university. He never slighted or neglected the most exacting duties as a member of committees. He was with others warmly interested in the plan adopted in 1870 of receiving students on diploma from accredited schools. He was conspicuously active in enlarging the application of the elective system to the work of the literary department. . . . He had the deepest interest in planning university structures, and he was largely instrumental in determining the plans of University Hall and the Library building. He was chiefly instrumental in securing a gift of a special library in administrative law, and also the gift of the University organ. He showed himself an effective pamphleteer in defending the University against some unworthy attacks. When the policy of state-supported universities was criticised by representatives of prominent New England colleges, he made the most effective replies by drawing from his ample stores of historical knowledge the unanswerable proofs of the partial support by the state of Harvard and other eastern colleges in earlier years. In such discussions he wielded a ready and effective pen.

I have tried to gain from old students of his at the University of Michigan an impression of his personal appearance and characteristics as teacher and lecturer. One says:

> I first saw him when I went to the University of Michigan as a freshman in 1873 and I distinctly remember his status as a very prominent member of the faculty, and his appearance, which was markedly different from that presented in his later life: tall and spare, with drooping eyelids, that won for him the nickname "Droopy", and a long straggly beard that doubtless was in part responsible for his Cornell nickname of "Farmer Adams." The tradition was that certain eccentricities of appearance which were tolerated by the first Mrs. Adams were speedily corrected after his second marriage.

Another (of the class of 1884), now a prominent editor, says:

> I did not come into close contact with him on account of the large size of his classes and the fact that I did not specialize in his subjects. I remember quite well, however, his course in "Institutions" and the illuminating lectures he gave us on the origin and development of human institutions, beginning (I think) with ancient Greece. . . . His power of close analysis and clear statement was remarkable. He packed into his lectures not only much information entertainingly stated, but an insight into the inner meaning of things.

Another writes:

I recall a rather tall, spare, dark-bearded man in frock coat and slouch hat—a man of much physical vigor, erect, broad-shouldered with elastic gait. Students thought of his work as rather difficult, and took it only when interested. I believe that it was all elective. His lectures were clear and incisive, not at all ornate. As a quiz-master he insisted on getting to the bottom of things, and students who attempted evasion or subterfuge were apt to regret it. I should say the students generally respected him for his ability, but did not become attached to him, as they did to some of his colleagues. They went into his classes for the subject-matter, as he clarified it, rather than for himself. Indeed, I doubt if he himself, at that time had in mind education as more than a process of imparting certain information and certain view-points effectively. I do not think of him as attempting to mould the intellectual process of students. But I had only little work with him, and might have thought otherwise with longer contact in more advanced classes.

But that he did like to come into closer personal association with students may be inferred from the following, from the old student first quoted above:

I came into personal relations when in my senior year I pursued his course in Guizot's *History of European Civilization.* I attracted his attention by using, instead of the English translation of Guizot, the French original. I had just stopped studying French and wished to keep in touch with the language. He invited me to his house to play chess with him—a game in which we displayed fairly equal lack of prowess.

Another writes:

When I went to the University of Michigan, as a graduate student in 1874, Dr. Adams, at that time professor of history, was a prominent member of a distinguished group of men who occupied the most important chairs in that university. His courses attracted the attention of the young men and women who were there for the purpose of improving their intellectual growth—and most of the students of that time belonged to that class. I cannot say that Professor Adams, at that time at least, was an attractive lecturer. He was not a fascinating talker, but he was known to be a thorough student, and the information which he imparted was of the highest educational value. A few years later I became his family physician, and consequently was brought into close contact with him. He was always courteous, sympathetic and fair in his judgments. Those who knew him respected his learning, acknowledged his fairness in all matters, and appreciated most highly his friendship.

"In those early days," says an old pupil of the class of '77, "he was a great inspiration to me, not only in an intellectual way, but in the higher field of character and conduct. Sitting beside him at table, three times a day for four years, gave me as much uplift as I got in the classroom, I believe. At the table we met other people who were worth while. Several of the unmarried professors were in the habit of dropping in for Sunday evening supper, when we girls enjoyed the conversation, as they apparently did Mrs. Adams' hospitality and the atmosphere of her home. Among these guests I remember particularly Professor George S. Morris and Professor Albert Pattengill, two whom I also enjoyed especially in the classroom."

As to his qualities as teacher and lecturer, I can further quote from the judicious estimate made for me by the old pupil mentioned above, who has been eminently successful as an historical teacher:

I studied under him when I was an undergraduate at Ann Arbor. He was counted a good lecturer, and was on the whole an interesting teacher. You probably know that history has developed much during the last forty years, and it would be hardly right to compare those days with these—or more properly to set up these days as an inflexible standard. He was undoubtedly *me judice,* in some particulars ahead of his time, appealing to reason and judgment, and not simply to memory, selecting facts and movements that had real significance. His lectures were not merely narrative recitations of events. I don't like to use the word "philosophical", because it has been an abused and misused word in its application to history writing and history teaching; but there was something about his teaching that deserves some such word. Personally for many years, if not always—I think always—I have had no sympathy with narrative and informational lectures in the classroom, lectures merely repeating what can more easily be obtained in the book. And I have sometimes thought that in the manner of attack I absorbed as an undergraduate—a very immature one at that—no little from C. K. Adams. I am inclined to think that if history as taught at Michigan forty years ago had been of the "eventful" kind, I should not have been attracted. However, the effect on me is not important, if there were any, save as a possible indication of the character of Adams' teaching. At all events I think the work of the day was of high character. I cannot honestly say that he was a very popular instructor, or very stimulating. He was not a flame of fire, a contagious enthusiasm; he did not inspire many undergraduates of my time. But they got good meaningful lectures from him, and profited by them.

As to his personal influence upon his pupils, Miss Salmon makes an interesting comment:

> I think that President Adams did take a strong personal interest in the young men who were in his classes, but that his feeling toward young women was one of rather polite toleration. I remember distinctly hearing him quoted as saying that, "Of course the young women could not do seminary work." Many of them did do it, and I think his surprise that we were able to accomplish as much as we did reacted upon his mind in such a way as to lead him to believe that he had been the source of inspiration. I think in more than one case, however, what the young women got from him was not so much inspiration as courage in undertaking work on their own responsibility. It is possible that there was something of the dare spirit about it.

CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS

CHAPTER II

PRESIDENT ADAMS AT CORNELL

Shortly before Dr. Adams was called to the presidency of Cornell University he had come to be regarded as presidential timber. Offers came to him near the same time from two western state universities, Kansas and Nebraska, and he visited both these institutions to look the ground over. But the inducements were not strong enough to draw him away from his professorship at Ann Arbor. Perhaps, too, he was already beginning to be aware that a bigger call was likely to come soon. From 1881 to 1885 he gave during each year, with marked success, a series of lectures at Cornell University, and occasional letters of his for some time give hints that he knew his name was beginning to be considered as Andrew D. White's successor.

Upon the resignation of President White, the Cornell alumni in New York, as we learn from Hewett's *History of Cornell University*, presented the name of an eminent president of a great technological school, while others advocated the election of the president of a great western university, a man of wide experience as a teacher, educator, and diplomat. President White's own choice was a former pupil, Charles Kendall Adams. "In an elaborate discussion of the qualities required in his successor he expressed his views to the trustees with great energy and positiveness." In accordance therewith at a special meeting of the board held July 13, 1885, Dr. Adams was elected President of the University, receiving the votes of twelve out of fifteen trustees present at the meeting. Referring to the reception of his resignation by the trustees, President White himself says in his *Autobiography*:

> I cannot resist the temptation to mention two evidences of their kind feeling which touched me deeply. The first of these was that I should continue as honorary president of the university. This I declined. To hold such a position would have been an injury to my successor; I knew that the time would come when he would be

obliged to grapple with questions which I had left unsettled from a feeling that he would have a freer hand than I could have. But another tender made me I accepted: this was that I should nominate my successor. I did this, naming my old student at the University of Michigan, who had succeeded me there as professor of history, Charles Kendall Adams; and so began a second and most prosperous administration. My only connection with the university thenceforward was that of a trustee and member of the executive committee. In this position it has been one of the greatest pleasures and satisfactions of my life to note the large and steady development of the institution during the two administrations which have succeeded my own. At the close of the administration of President Adams, who had especially distinguished himself in developing the law department and various other university interests, in strengthening the connection of the institution with the state, and in calling several most competent professors, he was succeeded by a gentleman whose acquaintance I had made during my stay as minister to Germany, he being at that time a student at the University of Berlin—Dr. Jacob Gould Schurman, whose remarkable powers and gifts have more than met the great expectations I then formed regarding him, and have developed the university to a yet higher plane, so that its number of students is now, as I now revise these lines, over three thousand.

The history—the author of this part being, I understand, Professor George L. Burr—continues:

His experience as an educator and influential guide upon educational questions commended him to those who were familiar with his life. . . . Professor Adams was a scholar of great industry, careful and systematic in his work; without imagination, he mastered by assiduous study the authorities in his department and presented clearly the results of historical investigation. A teacher orderly in his methods, he had instituted a department of recognized merit and of valuable work. A certain sobriety of judgment won respect and confidence. . . . President Adams brought to the university an experience of great value as an educator. He had been an attentive student of the various questions discussed in connection with higher learning, to the solution of which he had himself contributed. A man of great industry and method in his work, he brought to the duties of his position certain qualities that were greatly needed and of high value. . . . President Adams' immediate interest was felt in his personal devotion to the work of his position. A president's office was established in one of the university buildings, where the president was accessible both by faculty and students at certain definite times, a feature of administration adding greatly to the efficiency of the office.

Under President Adams' wise direction the whole arrangement of the bureau of administration connected with the executive office was remodeled and improved. President Adams was a laborious and conscientious executive officer giving attention to every interest that affected the university, of practical and experienced judgment; and it was at once felt that every detail of business received immediate and adequate attention. Several extremely favorable features were introduced soon after his accession in university administration, which made the faculty feel that there was an intelligent and sympathetic interest on the part of the presiding officer, not only with all questions of higher learning, but also with the individual interest of every professor. The system of granting a leave of absence after six years of service for purposes of travel and investigation was a valuable feature of the new administration. The salaries of professors were raised, so that they were more worthy of a university of high standing and influence. All these measures commended themselves to the faculty and contributed to give confidence in the new administration. The period which followed since 1885 was one of uniform prosperity and growth. The presence at all times of a responsible presiding officer, and confidence in a uniform and judicious administration of affairs, contributed to give stability and unity to the progress of the university. Among the important events connected with President Adams' administration, 1885-1892, may be mentioned the establishment of the law school, the erection of the chemical laboratory, and of the Sage Library, of Lincoln Hall for the departments of architecture and civil engineering, Barnes Hall, and the enlargement of the Armory, the establishment of new President White School of History and Political Science, of the State Meteorological Station, and the department of archaeology and the classical museum, the gift of the White Library, and the institution of the University Senate.

The University Senate was established in 1889. It was to advise in regard to all nominations for professorships; to consider and make recommendations in regard to such courses of study as might pertain to more than one faculty of the university; and in general to consider and advise upon any question of university policy submitted to them by the trustees or president or any of the faculties. Whenever any full professor was to be elected, the president was to nominate and the senate to vote by ballot on such recommendation, their action and the reasons therefor to be certified to the board of trustees for confirmation or rejection. The conviction of the trustees was that the faculty should be the active and responsible governing body of the university, determining the character of in-

struction and advising in the appointment of all instructors and professors; the trustees should be the permanent corporation, holding property, confirming or rejecting nominations, and making all appropriations.

The senate seems to have given satisfaction for a time, but it was abolished by action of the trustees on October 6, 1893. This was shortly after President Adams' resignation, and if one went only by dates it might be inferred that he favored the senate while at Cornell; but the provision that an election to a full professorship could be made only upon the nomination of a committee of the president and full professors was strongly disapproved of by him in the first interview I ever had with him (in 1894), and Dr. Birge remembers that at Madison he was strongly opposed to the Cornell method. He insisted that the nomination of professors was the prerogative of the president, to be shared with the faculty only to the extent of consultation and advice. It would seem that it was the practice, at least in the earlier period of his career at the University of Wisconsin, to hold himself responsible very often even for subordinate appointments, though I doubt not that this was generally done in consultation with the heads of departments.

Soon after the beginning of his administration President Adams recommended the bestowal of honorary degrees, believing that a time had been reached in the history of Cornell University when such degrees might properly be conferred in recognition of distinguished attainments of its own graduates or others. This was a departure from the established policy of the University. At the second commencement President White had stated publicly that it was the policy of the University to confer no honorary degrees. Under the impression that the faculty favored the proposed change, the trustees passed a resolution to that effect, the alumni representative on the board voting against it. Two honorary degrees were conferred, namely on Andrew D. White and David Starr Jordan. But, on the presentation of a memorial of the alumni against conferring honorary degrees, the resolution of the trustees was rescinded.

Another measure of President Adams seems to have met with

strong opposition in the faculty. Hewett's *History* states that in 1886-87 President Adams, who had meanwhile been studying the field, persuaded ex-President White now to consummate that gift to the University of his historical library which had long been in prospect, and made this gift the occasion for a reorganization of the entire instruction in history, politics and economics.

> To unify this under a single head, the trustees now, at his instance, created the President White School of History and Political Science. The deanship of this school having been first offered to ex-President White himself, but declined by him, it was President Adams' thought to call to the post some young and vigorous organizer, and he fixed his eyes for the purpose on the energetic young head of the historical work at Johns Hopkins, Herbert Baxter Adams. But a proposal thus to put over their heads a younger man, and one with whose methods they were by no means in hearty accord, was intolerable to men like Professor Tyler and Associate Professor Tuttle. So determined and so effective was their opposition that President Adams at last, with much reluctance, relinquished the effort, and the President White School was never completed. The trustees conferred upon Professor Tyler the title of dean, but the whole idea of such a centralization was obnoxious to him, as to his colleagues, and though, at the wish of his associates and in view of his seniority, he presided in that capacity at the meetings of the faculty and the school, he was never willing to assume further executive responsibility.

From a few incidents like these we may infer that President Adams met difficulties in his administration, in the faculty as well as in the board of trustees. These difficulties are, in Hewett's *History*, generally left to be inferred; but certainly they were serious enough to cause him to resign. The *History* says:

> President Adams resigned in May, 1892, stating that the cause was due to grave and seemingly irreconcilable differences of opinion in regard to matters of administrative importance. The exact nature of the difficulty, to which reference is here made, if such a difference really existed, was unknown to the faculty. In the earlier years of President Adams' administration differences between him and the local board, and even differences of views in the faculty had been felt. It is certain that the latter differences had passed away long before his resignation. An adverse view of his administration had been expressed at times among the alumni, much of which was a survival of the orginal opposition to his election. Voices of this

kind had, however, largely become silent. A sincere affection for the University, and a desire to serve it successfully, were manifest upon his part. Had it occurred earlier in the history of his administration, it would have seemed natural, but not at the time it was tendered. President Adams had a high ideal of the qualities necessary in professors, both as teachers and investigators, which were demanded by modern learning. His nominations, though possibly at times personal, were with few exceptions of high merit. Even though the approval of the senate did not always follow his nomination, it is true that the names presented were usually those of men of high reputation, who have since won success in the world of scholarship elsewhere.

Professor J. H. Comstock, Emeritus Professor of Entomology, writing February 28, 1922, says:

At the beginning of his administration he greatly discouraged the scientific members of our staff by taking the stand that as the scientific departments here were more strongly developed than those of Michigan they could be well left as they were while other parts of the University were built up. This lack of support resulted in the loss of a very strong professor of physics, Professor W. A. Anthony, two years after President Adams came here. I think that the most succesful feature of President Adams' administration was his selection of strong men to fill professorships. It was during his administration that Jacob Gould Schurman, Benjamin Ide Wheeler, L. H. Bailey, Charles Evans Hughes, and Jeremiah W. Jenks, were added to the faculty—to mention only some of those who have since become widely known.

The difficulties must have been more serious than one would infer from such statements. They were serious enough to make him very unhappy at Cornell. Three years after he left, he wrote to Andrew D. White (July 13, 1895):

I have not been at Cornell since I took final leave. Many of the old friends there I should be glad to see—many of them indeed I have seen elsewhere—but I have no desire again to breathe the atmosphere of the place. Until it is changed by one or two funeral ceremonies, I imagine I shall not put my happiness to so severe a strain as again to visit the old scenes. Happily my wife shares with me the same feelings.

This confidential outburst of feeling addressed to his old friend enables us better to appreciate the situation as it is described in a paragraph of the memorial address pronounced

by his good friend Dr. Benjamin Ide Wheeler, who had served under him for six years at Cornell:

> When Dr. Adams was elected to the presidency, a new life was opening before the University in the provision of new resources under the strong and skilful management of the chairman of the board of trustees, Henry W. Sage, who became therein its second founder. But the inner university was sadly in need of reorganization and refitting. To this work Mr. Adams set himself with all vigor. There were many difficult and delicate things to be done, that had to be done, if a man were honest to his trust. He did them honestly, not always delicately. He was not himself a sensitive man, nor did he estimate at its full the sensitiveness of others, especially that sensitiveness which so readily deposits itself in the quiet waters of academic life. As he was not inclined to suspect the motives of others or to distrust his fellowmen, so he was slow to suspect opposition or to divine the foundation of opposition, until he came into collision with it full-formed and panoplied. The seven years of his administration were Cornell's *Sturm und Drang* period. Change and unrest characterized it throughout. A Cornell small, provincial, and odd was transforming itself into a university of standard type and standard gauge, and there were as a matter of course some quakings, some throes, and many growing pains. Mr. Adams had little comfort during those years, and suffered much. I know that in after life he looked back upon them as toil and trouble, and counted the land where he had come to dwell as the very home of sympathy and peace.

This paragraph from Dr. Wheeler probably enables us to understand President White's reason for declining the offer of the honorary presidency: "To hold such a position would have been an injury to my successor. I knew that the time would come when he would be obliged to grapple with questions which I had left unsettled from a feeling that he would have a freer hand than I could have." It throws a light also upon the extracts quoted elsewhere, from the diary of Moses Coit Tyler. Dr. Wheeler continues:

> And yet, in estimating his services to American education I believe we must reckon the seven years at Cornell even above the fortunate ten years at Wisconsin. The Cornell which we know today was practically the making of those years. The further we are separated from them the clearer does it become. During those years the courses of study were entirely made over in the interest of simplification; the organization of those activities which fall into the hands of deans and registrars was created essentially out of nothing; the

departments of mechanical engineering, electrical engineering, marine engineering, assembled under the roof of Sibley College, were started on their uniquely brilliant, and for Cornell so characteristic, career; the agricultural work was greatly widened, instruction in horticulture begun, the experiment station established; the law school was established and a building erected for its shelter; the first efforts were made toward the establishment of a medical school, and the adoption of the Bellevue Medical School in New York proposed and attempted; the excellent library building was erected and a regular and sufficient income for book purchases provided; seven seminary rooms in the library building equipped with special libraries joined with the building and its rapidly growing collections to infuse an absolutely new life and manner into the scholarship of the place; Barnes Hall, devoted to the uses of the Christian association, was built, and the religious activities of the university were given an entirely new organized form; a building was erected for the departments of civil engineering and of architecture; the chemical laboratory was built; the Sibley College buildings were more than doubled in extent; an athletic field was provided; the gymnasium greatly extended; the classical departments were greatly strengthened and provided with abundant equipment, including a special library and a collection of casts; the departments of history and of economics were practically created new; the Sage School of Philosophy was founded; the institution of the sabbatical year was established, than which in the economy of academic life nothing does more to raise the professional tone of the teaching body. This is a most incomplete list, assembled merely as the chance of memory on one single occasion has suggested, but it shows with what fundamental things this seven-year period came to deal.

Another paragraph shows an aspect of the growth of Cornell during President Adams' administration even more important than the material one just outlined:

The Cornell to which he came in 1885 was a small college, small and formless; he left it after seven years an organized university. Its graduating class in 1885 numbered exactly sixty-one; in 1892, at the end of his administration of seven years, it numbered two hundred and eighty-two. During the first year of his administration the total attendance of students was six hundred and thirty-eight, during the last year fifteen hundred and thirty-eight. The number of active professors of all grades was in 1885 thirty-eight; in 1892 it was sixty-three, of whom thirty-two had been appointed during President Adams' administration.

Then follows a list of appointees of his administration, in-

cluding J. G. Schurman, H. B. Hutchins, E. L. Nichols, George L. Burr, J. W. Jenks, J. M. Hart, J. L. Laughlin, L. H. Bailey, Frank Angell, L. M. Dennis, George P. Bristol, E. B. Andrews, C. von Klenze, J. E. Creighton, W. F. Wilcox, E. W. Huffcut, H. E. Elmer, F. H. Hodder, and many more—to which, of course, B. I. Wheeler himself should be added. That is an extraordinary array of talent, and Dr. Wheeler very properly adds: "It is due to him that it be read, because it represents the thing that he cared most about in university administration, and for that matter, the thing that many wise people will think the wisest thing for any university president to care most about."

For several months I have been asking people who used to know him well here, members of the board of regents and of the faculty, "Did he show jealousy of able men about him?" "Was he not an extraordinary judge of character?" The answer has been uniformly the same. Here is Dr. Wheeler's view of the man in these respects, as he knew him at Cornell:

> He was not a brilliant man but he was not rendered thereby incapable of recognizing brilliant talents; on the contrary, as the results would seem indubitably to show, he was an extraordinary judge of academic character, and keen to note and weigh the implicit traits that looked toward growth. Of one thing at least he was by nobility of nature incapable—of a selfish cowardice that would suggest distrust of surrounding himself with men abler or more brilliant than himself. In choosing men he counted much upon the moral value, preferred the constructive to the critical talents, and set great store upon healthy good sense, large views, genial enthusiasms and the capacity to grasp the gist of the matter.

Of all the attempts to describe the man and to characterize him that I have heard or read, Dr. Wheeler best hits off the physical and mental picture, in the opening and closing paragraphs of his memorial address.

> My first acquaintance with President Adams was made at Ithaca in the spring of 1886. It was his first year at Cornell. He was fifty-one years old, abounding in the mature strength of middle age, and full of enthusiasms of a new and great opportunity. The first impression made by his appearance involved no suggestion of brilliancy or genius. He surely was not a man of the world. A certain heaviness of style coupled with apparent slowness of wit, and considerable

uncouthness of manner, classed him as bucolic rather than metropolitan, and earned from irreverent lips the title of "Farmer Adams," which he bore during the earlier years at Cornell. The drowsiness of his facial expression, centering in a peculiar droop of the upper eyelids, combined with his dragging utterance, his heavy manner, and his slow and homely geniality to mark him as presumably an easy victim to the wiles of the wicked and designing, such as dwell in cities. There was, too, a certain mental stubbornness about him which forbade his entering at first meeting with full zest and sympathy into the interests of a stranger. While he listened carefully, he certainly gave the impression of suspending judgment on the new apparition; for it really was to patient judgment, not to immediate intuition, that he trusted. This calm settling back into the seat of the judge gave to him an air of lethargic coldness that concealed the abounding charity of his nature and robbed him of all semblance of magnetism for the first approach.

It was evening when I met him first, and after our first colloquy he took me out for a walk over the college campus, then sparsely occupied with buildings. The trees were mostly small, the walks scanty, the space and the loneliness alone were great. A few sputtering lights, which he pointed out to me as a recent improvement, punctuated a lifeless gloom. This might be a great university, but a man just from Harvard would have to be excused for not seeing it. He saw it though. We came to the brow of the hill that overlooks the lights of the valley and commands the dim expanse of the lake to the north, and there he stopped and struck his cane on the ground. "Here the great library will stand," he said. His voice had a new ring. The drag and lethargy were gone. The enthusiasm of faith and creative foresight had come to the front; the chill had departed, swallowed up in a great heart interest, and departed forever, for so far as I was concerned I never noted it again, so long as I knew him.

That passage describes the man, and for one who knows the Cornell grounds it is an unforgetable picture. The closing paragraph is worthy to stand beside it, so just and fair it seems to me as I run over the retrospect of the years when I knew him:

Mr. Adams was pre-eminently a wise man. Healthy good sense abounded in him. His judgment on matters requiring range of vision and control of widely scattered facts was remarkably sound. He did not excel in personal attractiveness, and certainly could not be called magnetic. He was a plain American of the good old-fashioned type, not much given to diplomacy or the arts of address, but he was sturdy and loyal and true; he could bear heavy burdens and falter not; he could suffer and repine not, for his heart was set for high

and noble things, his vision reached behind the veil, and many a time had he walked with God.

Whatever may have been the differences between the President and the trustees, nothing of this appears either in the minutes of the board on accepting his resignation or in his final report to the board.

Minute from the record of the Board of Trustees of Cornell University on the resignation of President Adams: "It is in obedience both to a sense of duty and to a feeling of strong personal respect and attachment that the Trustees of Cornell University place upon their minutes this formal expression of their cordial appreciation of the services of Dr. Charles Kendall Adams as their chief executive officer during the past seven years.

"He came into the presidency at a time when a great addition to the material resources of the institution demanded commensurate effort. New departments were to be created, old departments to be enlarged and reorganized, large additions were to be made to the faculty, and great extension given to the equipment.

"It is not too much to say that President Adams distinguished himself by the fidelity with which his multitudinous duties were discharged. The formation of his plans was marked by wisdom and their execution by unwearied labor and care. In the choice of professors he showed marked sagacity. Rarely in the history of any institution has such a series of eminent professors been brought into any faculty as that which has been introduced under his administration into Cornell University. A very striking testimony to the wisdom of his nominations is seen in the efforts which other leading universities have made to attract into their own faculties the men he has thus selected.

"In the relation between the University and the national and state governments, and especially with the Department of Public Instruction of the State of New York, President Adams has also shown his ability to deal with men in the conduct of large public affairs.

"As regards the influence of the University on the public, and wide discussion of the leading educational topics of the time, President Adams, by his writings and speeches, has materially influenced the most enlightened public opinion of his country, and as a writer on historical subjects he has done a work which has elicited praise from the highest sources on both sides of the Atlantic.

"His administration will be remembered in the history of Cornell University as equally important to the interests of the institution and creditable to himself, and we tender to him as a scholar, as an educator, and as a man, the assurances of our sincere respect and regard, with our best wishes for his future success and happiness."

His annual report presented to the Board of Trustees on June 15 concludes with these words:

I cannot close this report without giving expression to my appreciation of the generous action of the Board of Trustees in connection with the acceptance of my resignation. I wish also to acknowledge with gratitude the hearty and more than cordial terms in which my relations with my colleagues and my parting with the University are alluded to in their reports herewith presented by the dean of the general faculty, the director of Sibley College, the director of the College of Agriculture, the director of the College of Engineering, and by the associate dean in behalf of the faculty of the School of Law. I am also grateful for the expressions of regard that have come to me in so many ways from the students of the University. All these kindly and friendly sentiments are gratefully appreciated and fully reciprocated.

At the end of my inaugural address I used these words: "In my hopeful moments I try to forecast the future. I see in imagination these courses of study perfected and extended; I contemplate new departments added and developed; I behold museums and laboratories established and amplified, and, as a crowning glory of all, I behold a great library arising to fulfill the provisions of a noble and unthwarted purpose. As I picture all these provisions shedding their influence for good or evil over the future generations of this state, and think of all their possibilities and promises, and see them in imagination crowning these beautiful hills, I reverently pray to God that all the fruits of wisdom and benevolence may be vouchsafed to the people of this state, and that all our efforts may be sanctified to the building up of noble men and women, and the universal furtherance of all good learning and of every form of Christian civilization."

As I look about me today I cannot suppress a feeling of reverent gratitude that in the seven years that have since elapsed so much has been accomplished for the fulfillment of this hopeful prediction. Best of all, I rejoice that the University never before was in so good a condition as it is today, and in passing over the keys of office to my successor, I do it with the hope and the fervent prayer that the prosperity of the past seven years may prove to have been only a harbinger and a preparation for even greater prosperity in the years to come.

CHAPTER III

PRESIDENT ADAMS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

When President Adams resigned at Cornell, it was his intention to devote the rest of his life to literary work. He was editor-in-chief of the revised edition of Johnson's *Universal Encyclopedia,* and had other plans, among them a history of the United States. That same spring, however, President Chamberlin, of the University of Wisconsin, resigned to become head of the department of geology at the new University of Chicago, and the choice of the committee, of which Mr. Breese J. Stevens was chairman, to nominate his successor, fell upon Dr. Adams. Their choice was probably chiefly influenced by the strong endorsement of Andrew D. White. When asked his opinion with regard to a president for the University of Wisconsin, his answer is said to have been: "My first choice would be Charles Kendall Adams, my second choice would be Charles Kendall Adams, my third choice would be Charles Kendall Adams." He was not inclined to accept until he was induced to visit Madison. That quickly changed all his plans. A letter to his friend Professor Moses Coit Tyler tells the story.

Ithaca, August 11, 1892.

My dear Tyler:

I do not wonder that you were taken a little aback by my acceptance of the Wisconsin offer. I was persuaded to visit Madison, but I did not think there was one chance in ten of my taking the place. But the regents, the professors, and the people, made love to me with such persuasiveness and energy that all my determinations gradually melted away. *Qui écoute va se rendre,* say the French. I am another illustration.

I hope it will not prove to have been a matter of infatuation. In several departments the university is much in advance of Cornell. The library is comparatively weak; but large reliance is placed upon the library of the State Historical Society. They assure me that the university is the pet of the state, and that liberal appropriations may be expected. This year they are building a new law building of

brown stone, and a gymnasium, which will be, I think, the largest and most commodious in the country. The grounds are delightfully situated along the lake and contain several miles of drives, laid out with the most approved art of the landscape gardener. In fact, the grounds are an English park of 270 acres. Personally they treat me liberally, giving me a better house and a better salary than I had at Cornell. Nothing could be more hearty than the assurances I have received. I had long talks with Chamberlin, and convinced myself from him, as well as from others, that I might hope for cordial support. I shall probably reach Madison early in September. My wife will delay until some changes in the house are completed. I shall try to carry on my literary correspondence with the University, with what success remains to be seen. But for this possibility (and the encouragement of the regents) I should have declined the post, tempting as it is.

A little incident of President Adams' visit to the University of Wisconsin that pleased him very much is told by Registrar Hiestand, then private secretary to the President:

One of the most interesting and well-known characters associated with the University at this period was the Irish janitor of Main Hall, Patrick Walsh, who on account of his long and faithful service was somewhat privileged in many ways. "Pat" had helped to build Main Hall, and after the completion of the building was its janitor without interruption up to the time of his death. He had learned that Dr. Adams was being considered for the presidency and knew of his arrival here. With feather-duster in hand, as a pretense, he entered the President's office without further announcement during a strictly private conference. President Chamberlin arose and presented Patrick to Dr. Adams as "The oldest professor in the University of Wisconsin." Patrick made a very profound bow and said: "I am plazed to meet yez, Mister President. I have heard very good reports of your char-ác-ter." This expression of opinion as to his qualifications for the presidency pleased Dr. Adams immensely, and it is needless to say that Patrick afterwards was always a favorite with him. On the occasion of Patrick's death the President declared a half-day's suspension of all university exercises and the entire faculty in a body attended the funeral.

President Adams began the work of his administration in September 1892. There are numerous references in *The Daily Cardinal* of that period to his early activities. He took part for example, at the September meeting of the Madison Literary Club, in the discussion of a paper by Professor Olson, and a few days later addressed the students in a welcoming talk. Mrs.

Adams gave a paper on *Macbeth* at the November meeting of the Club. President Adams' formal inaugural address was given January 18, 1893, in Library Hall, before a large audience composed of faculty and students, regents, governor and state officers, members of the supreme court, and citizens. Of all the welcoming addresses probably the one that pleased him most was that of his old Michigan pupil who spoke for the faculty. Professor Freeman closed his address with the following reminiscence:

> In performing the bidding of this faculty, as I do now, by offering you our cordial welcome, I can scarcely forbear an allusion to a day twenty-eight years ago, when a young man, diffident and downcast at the recollection of the many things that he did not know, knocked at the door of a great university in a neighboring state. Seven years had passed since he had spent time on books. Τύπτω and *Amo* had been altogether driven out of his ears by the bugles of the Shenandoah and the guns of Gettysburg. He didn't remember whether $y^2=2px$ was the equation of the parabola or the parachute; and differential x and differential y were altogether unknown quantities. He had listened a while to the examination of candidates and was concluding that the doors of the higher education were not open to him. At that turning-point of his life a professor went out of his way to show the stranger a kindness and to speak a word of counsel and encouragement. It was an incident which *you* have doubtless long since forgotten, but one which I shall never forget. "Cast thy bread upon the waters and it shall return unto thee after many days." This assemblage will pardon me for seeing some poetry as well as propriety in the fact that as you today confront this great company, most of whose faces are unknown to you, and assume new duties in new surroundings, you should be met at the threshold by one whom you years ago befriended and who is charged with the grateful duty of bidding you welcome and Godspeed.

In his inaugural address, *The University and the State,* he said:

> In this favored domain these relations are peculiarly intimate. Nowhere else are the university and the preparatory schools bound together in a firmer or more helpful alliance. In no other state has the modern method of reaching the people by the means known as university extension been so general or so successful. Nowhere else have the masses of the people received so much direct assistance from the teaching force at the university; and nowhere else have the people in their turn shown a higher appreciation and esteem for the university which bears the name of the commonwealth.

It is clear from the address that he had been diligently studying the needs of the University. A large part of the program followed during his whole administration is there laid out. After carefully preparing the way, he sounds the note for increased appropriations:

> Meanwhile our working income, while slightly increased, has fallen behind our real necessities. This statement may be a matter of surprise to those who recall the generous provisions of the legislature two years ago; but that surprise will vanish when it is remembered that the legislation referred to was for the erection of buildings. The fruit of this will be three noble structures in every way creditable to the University and the state. The Dairy Building, the Armory, and the Law Building were called for by absolute necessity. . . . Other buildings are loudly called for. The large accessions to the College of Engineering demand an immediate increase of accommodations in the shops, classrooms and laboratories. The chemical laboratory can hardly satisfy the necessities of the University another year. Ladies' Hall, crowded to its utmost capacity, greatly needs an addition of a dining-room, a gymnasium and enlarged accommodations for the department of music. It must be extended if it is to be continued.

Of the three buildings referred to, the Dairy Building was finished in December 1891; the Law Building in 1893; the corner stone of the Armory was laid during his first year and the edifice completed in 1894. The appropriations for these had been secured by his predecessor. He emphasized at once "the most pressing necessity"—a new library, saying:

> A college may be eminently successful with a comparatively small library. But to a university a large and constantly increasing collection of books is as necessary as fuel to a fire. This necessity is founded in the very nature of things. A university is an organization for the discovery and promulgation of truth. There is not a single domain in all the vast realm of knowledge in which the best which has been done is not embodied in the literature of the subject. This knowledge may be found in books or in technical periodicals; and in proportion as the pupil advances into the higher realms of knowledge, in the same proportion does the function of the teacher become less and less that of a dogmatist and more and more that of one who simply points out the way and guides the student in his own independent investigations.

Professor Pyre, in his history of the University, devotes to

the Historical Library two or three pages which could not well be improved:

The inadequacy of the library impressed President Adams, at first glance, as the most glaring deficiency of the institution. More thorough investigation modified, but did not essentially change his opinion. The expenditure for the library in Chamberlin's last year had been a trifle over three thousand dollars; this was nearly trebled during the very first year of Adams' management. But nothing revolutionary could be accomplished in building up a library until larger and more suitable quarters were provided. A movement was immediately set on foot to secure from the state the means for erecting on the lower campus a suitable fireproof building, to which might be removed both the general library of the University and the collections of the State Historical Society, as well as the special library of the Wisconsin Academy. The proposal to make this a joint enterprise was accepted by the Historical Society early in 1893. An appropriation of $420,000 for the purpose was proposed in the legislature that winter, but failed to carry. Two years later there was granted a preliminary appropriation of $180,000, which was biennially augmented until the completion of the building (the northwest wing excepted) at a final cost of $750,000. The building was occupied in the summer of 1900. From what hazards its contents had been removed was convincingly shown when a very few years later the old State Capitol was gutted by fire.

The Library stands, as it should, in the university foreground, not more as to location than in dignity and aesthetic aspiration. In its exterior design and decoration, and in its materials and appointments throughout, fewer concessions to economy were made than in any building which has been erected by the state, except the new State Capitol. That the building was secured is due in considerable measure to the enthusiasm of President Adams, who was influential in securing the consent of the Historical Society to the joint enterprise and in obtaining from the legislature the means to carry it out. Many regard it as peculiarly the memorial of his administration. During the five years that it was under construction, he served on all the important committees connected with the building, and "took a deep interest in the architectural details, especially of the exterior." One of his last public appearances was at the dedication of this building, which may well stand as a material symbol of the progress of the University under his leadership. For the new Library, with its stately exterior, its marble floors and staircases, and rich yet pure decoration, its spacious reading-room, its separate suites for periodicals and maps and manuscripts, documents, newspaper files, departmental seminaries, its cataloguing and administrative offices in either wing, its museum-floor, and its ample, clean-shelved, well-lighted stacks—to

those acquainted with the former quarters of either collection—seemed to represent a fifty years' leap of civilization.

The first suggestion of a joint building for the University and the State Historical Society had been made, according to Secretary Thwaites, by President Chamberlin, but the appropriations and the execution of the plans all belong to President Adams. This was the third university library he had helped to erect. He had been chairman of the library building committee at the University of Michigan and at Cornell, and those were worthy structures. But this was the most ambitious edifice he had ever been responsible for, the costliest in money, and the most successful. No wonder that as he walked along the noble Ionic-columned front, at the time of the dedication, he was heard to exclaim, "At last we have done something worthy of the state!"

He lived to see the realization of all the constructional schemes mentioned in his inaugural. Not only was Ladies' Hall enlarged and beautified (1896), but University Hall became, in a complete transformation (1899), more than double its former size and far more stately in appearance. The machine shops in the old engineering building were enlarged (1894), and additional appropriation for the support of the department was secured (1895). The new engineering building, advocated in his inaugural, and emphasized in 1896 as "the most pressing of the material needs of the university," finally in 1899, coincident with the appointment of the first dean (Johnson), was provided for with an appropriation of $100,000. It was completed in 1902 just before the untimely accident which proved fatal to the new dean. And it must not be forgotten that in 1895 Camp Randall, which was acquired from the Dane County Agricultural Society for $25,000, was opened to athletics and gave a tremendous impulse to university sports. General Fairchild's support, which President Adams could always depend upon, seems to have been the deciding influence at the critical moment of the deal. As Mrs. Fairchild tells the story, President Adams and Mr. Stevens came for him to

go with them before the legislative committee. The General said: "Gentlemen, there is the property; the University needs it; the price is cheap; if you don't buy it, I will." That settled it.

But the plans outlined in President Adams' inaugural were not limited to expansion in buildings and increase in the teaching force. The university extension movement had begun in President Chamberlin's last year, but President Adams took it up heartily.

> "The wants of the people," he said, "are not satisfied with the instruction that is given in the university. Within the past few years the feeling has grown to be one of the most notable features in modern education, that the university should not limit its instruction to those who are able to be in actual attendance. There are thousands, yea, tens of thousands, who desire to avail themselves of such instruction, but cannot leave their homes to go to the university. Cannot the university be taken to them? The modern university extension movement is the effort to answer this question. It is an interesting fact that this question first received definite form in one of the conservative seats of learning in conservative England. Within a a few years after this desire took practical form, lectures and teachers went out from Oxford and Cambridge to every important city and village in Great Britain; and several thousand carefully prepared courses of instruction are now annually given. The movement was so unmistakably beneficial that it crossed the Atlantic as naturally as did the jury system and the common law. It has found congenial soil wherever there is an enterprising desire for more knowledge and greater intelligence. The growth of the movement has been perhaps even more rapid in the west than in the east. The impulse early took definite form in Wisconsin. Last year more than a hundred calls for courses of extension lectures came to the University; more than forty were given. This year the demands thus far have been greater than they were at the corresponding date last year. It has been the policy of the University to respond to these calls as often as can be done without great injustice to students and the University itself. But the demands are more than we can supply."

His interest in university extension never flagged. He secured three years later the appointment of a vigorous and talented young professor to manage the work. But Dr. Raymond after two years, was called away to the presidency of West Virginia University, and for a time the work was continued un-

der Dr. B. H. Meyer. It is certain that President Adams was planning great enlargements of this department, probably in the line of the present scheme, but illness interfered and further development was left to his successor.

The last words of his inaugural were addressed to the legislators:

> You are fortunate in having the means of supply in large abundance. Visit the University. Examine it in its minutest details. All its interests are yours, as the representatives of the people. Consider its usefulness and its possibilities. Make yourselves familiar with it; and then I have no doubt you will decide wisely and generously what provisions you will make for the improvement of the sons and daughters of Wisconsin. As I recall the history of what has already been accomplished; as I contemplate the resources of this great and noble state; as I survey the enormous possibilities and opportunities, I cannot doubt that the legislature and the people will be content with nothing short of making it worthy of the state; and this means the peer of any other university in the land.

President Adams usually had remarkable success in dealing with the state legislature. Doubtless the most spectacular incident in any of his campaigns for appropriations was that which occurred in 1895. It was arranged, I think through Dean Henry, that the whole legislature should visit the University, be shown over the buildings and the grounds, and at the end meet the assembled faculty and students in the Armory. The state, which for four years had been under democratic regime, had at the preceding election gone overwhelmingly republican. Not more than twenty democrats had been returned. When they were assembled in the Armory President Adams said to the legislators, by way of introduction: "You have seen the outside of the University, its husk or shell; here is the University!"—waving his hand toward the students, who responded with a rousing yell.

The speech-making had been shrewdly planned. First came a democratic legislator, who closed a brief speech in these words: "We democrats dare the republican majority to do more for the University than we have done!" The first republican speaker accepted the challenge. Next to the last came General Fairchild, who had been three times governor

of the state, had commanded the Iron Brigade at Gettysburg, and lost his right arm there. President Adams was in the habit of calling upon the General for support in all crises. Last rose Governor Upham. "Gentlemen of the legislature," he said, "I warn you that you cannot pass any bill in favor of this University so large that I will not dare to sign it." I don't know whether he meant to say any more or not; he did not get the chance. The yell of the whole student body seemed to take the roof off, and when the tumult subsided the multitude dispersed. There could not be any doubt that the legislature was won.

The democrats during their four year ascendency had been generous to the University. The new scale of the state's generosity to the University elicited from Governor Peck the witticism that he had never gone through the University, but the University had gone through him for a million dollars. But the republicans took the democratic dare, and did better. The appropriation voted was the largest ever made up to that time; and this generosity continued as long as President Adams was at the helm, not only for current expenses, but also for buildings. "All told," says Pyre, by way of summary, "about a million and a half was expended for buildings in the ten years between 1893 and 1902."

On one occasion at least the students gave him much concern with regard to the legislature. While that body was in session, some students were so thoughtless as to engage in a rowdy performance on the lower campus, and of course the local papers were full of it. The day after, Professor Slichter met the President walking along in deep gloom. "How are you, Mr. President?" "I am worried about that student affair. It is sure to make a bad impression on the legislature. We shall be criticised for lax discipline, and it may hurt our appropriations." "Oh, I wouldn't worry, Mr. President," rejoined Slichter. "Call a special meeting of the faculty, get hold of some of the offenders, no matter whether they are ringleaders or not, and impose sentences of suspension. That will arouse sympathy for the boys and the legislators will be condemning us for being too severe." The faculty was called,

and did take prompt action, as it should have done. And the result was exactly as Slichter had predicted. In a day or two the papers reported speeches of legislators criticising the severity of the faculty. "Those men over there on the hill don't know how to deal with young men. The idea of punishing students so severely for their pranks! Discipline can be easily carried too far. Boys will be boys."

A new president is sure to find much to do in reorganizing departments and reinforcing them with new men. The first piece of extensive reorganization in President Adams' administration was made in the School of Law. His choice of instrument to make the necessary changes fell upon Charles Noble Gregory, Esq., an alumnus of the University (1871) and a member of the Madison bar. Mr. Gregory's father, who had long been a regent of the University, had recently died, and it seemed that President Adams' approaches to the son were made in a way indicating not only diplomatic tact but tenderness of feeling.

> "Dr. Adams seemed," Mr. Gregory wrote nearly thirty years later, "to express and feel interest and, as he said, 'affection' for me. He sent for me and asked me to take the place of associate dean in the law school, promising that I should be in line for the deanship; asking me to give up everything else, and to make over the law school without disturbing General Bryant, to introduce the Harvard system of case study, etc. I went on to the east, stayed with Dean Ames of Harvard at his country-house, and he and the dean of the Columbia University Law School coached me. We were able to do all that Dr. Adams asked, and the seven years from 1894 to 1901, which I spent there, marked a definite and exacted requirement in education for entry, the use of the case system—then and perhaps still by all odds the most approved—a great increase in strictness of examinations and requirements, advance from two to three years in course, and at the same time, I think, an increase in the number of students and in zeal and enthusiasm which no period in the school has exceeded. When I was called, with increased rank and salary, to Iowa, President Adams was ill and away. I had an intimation that, had he been there, I should never have got away."

An important modification of the courses of study was made soon after President Adams came. He found the studies arranged almost entirely in five-fifths course—a scheme of the science men—and went to work at once to have these broken up

into four-fifths and two-fifths courses, with some three-fifths. With the scheme of five-fifths courses, work was very much concentrated and the range of choice limited, for under this plan a student must have either fifteen hours a week or be allowed to carry twenty hours, which the faculty was loath to grant. Whether consciously so planned or not the new scheme was in the interest of courses in the humanities.

That was for undergraduate work. But graduate studies also received prompt encouragement. His attitude toward graduate work had been expressed in a letter to Professor Moses Coit Tyler while he was still at the University of Michigan:

> The more I think of it the more I am inclined to believe that the solution of the Ithaca problem is in the direction of a much higher grade of work than has as yet been done. It seems to me that with your fund the thing to do is to provide attractions for advanced students. I incline to the belief that all studies should be made optional from about the end of the sophomore year; and that the strength of the university should be expended largely in the development of work subsequent to that period. In other words, I would follow the bent of Johns Hopkins University rather than enter the race for a low grade of students handicapped with the traditions of the university and the prejudices of so many of the people. I cannot but think that the future of Cornell lies largely in this direction. The industrial and agricultural departments cannot, of course, be improved; but they ought not to be allowed to keep the others down. The so-called "higher education," that is, graduate work, is now in vogue. It is in the air everywhere—except perhaps at Yale—and I know of no institution better fitted by endowment and freedom from trammels to take up the work than Cornell.

A new and much enlarged committee on graduate studies was appointed early in 1895, and more extensive graduate courses were given, not only in Dr. Ely's school of economics, history and political science, but in all the leading departments. The number of graduate students grew from 57, including fellows, in his first year (1892), to 126, including fellows and scholars, in his last year (1901-2). Under his two successors the growth in the graduate school has been much more rapid, the total number of graduate students being now over eight hundred.

The organization of the courses in music as a School of Music was effected in 1895, with the appointment of Professor F. A. Parker as director and an enlarged teaching force. In 1897 came a conspicuous innovation in the appointment of the first dean of women. Up to this time there had been no especial difference in the oversight of men and women students, both being under the general charge of the dean of the College of Letters and Science. The appointment of a dean of women was rendered necessary by the rapid growth in the attendance of young women. One cannot but wonder how the University got on so long without such an officer. President Adams took great care in making a selection, and his choice fell upon a young woman of twenty-six. The only objection that one could possibly have made to his selection was youth and inexperience. Miss Anne Crosby Emery, daughter of Chief Justice Emery of Maine, was A. B. and Ph. D. of Bryn Mawr College, and unquestionably a young woman of unusual talent. She was appointed also assistant-professor of Greek and Latin and proved a welcome addition in classical instruction, for she was an enthusiastic and successful teacher. Her work as dean of women was generally regarded as very successful. The self-government association, which she organized, has proved of permanent value. Her appointment must be regarded as a conspicuous example of President Adams' acumen in the judgment of character, as her subsequent career at Brown University has made abundantly clear. That at the end of her three-year term the position was allowed to lapse for a time, must be regarded as one of the mistakes of President Adams' administration.

I doubt, however, if the creation of a dean of women was in accord with his own ideas. July 5, 1901, he wrote from Bad Reichenhall to Dr. Birge:

> Your commencement letter came last night and was read with intense interest. I congratulate you sincerely on the successful close of the year. The effort of Jupiter Tonans to burn University Hall makes one shudder to think what the result would have been if the dome had really caught fire. It is easy to see that a fire at the top might burn into the tank and make all efforts to quench a conflagration futile. And without University Hall, what would the Univer-

sity do! We should render oblations that the structure was saved.

I do not rejoice that the board passed a resolution with regard to a dean of women. But so long as the *ewig weibliche zieht uns hinan* I suppose we must follow. Of the social matrons, preceptresses, wardens, and deans I have had to deal with I have not regarded a single one as successful, so that I have come to feel much as did the old German I knew at Ann Arbor who, after three wives in succession, thought he would try once more, and if she was not successful, he would think there was some fault in himself. The only difference is in the fact that I don't want to try again. . . .

The organization of the courses in engineering into the College of Engineering, with the appointment of a dean, was a formal change of great importance, and the choice of the first dean was a brilliant appointment. Of the engineers on the ground Professor Turneaure, who was giving promise of administrative capacity, was doubtless considered for the deanship, but the choice fell upon his old teacher, J. B. Johnson of Washington University, St. Louis. His success was marked from the start, and his career of three brief years left nothing to be desired in efficiency. The College of Engineering, one of the strongest in the country, has grown, on the lines he laid down, steadily under his pupil and successor, Dean Turneaure, who also is a conspicuous example of President Adams' good judgment of men.

June 24, 1902, President Adams wrote Dr. Birge with reference to Dean Johnson's death:

> The same mail that brought your letter brought the paper with the terrible news in regard to Johnson. It is one of those things that seem to be too bad to be true. Till one has tried to find such a man one can hardly realize the extent of the loss. My successor will have no end of anxiety till he has found another; and he will be fortunate indeed if his anxieties end with his election.

A distinct innovation of the latter part of President Adams' administration was the Commerce Course. A wave of commercialism was sweeping over the country and something had to be done in the University in the way of more definite preparation of students for courses in business. It is easy to see, as one looks back, how timely was President Adams' initiative in persuading the regents to establish the course, and how wise

was the choice of the director, Professor W. A. Scott. At the establishment of the Course in Commerce it was not strange that teachers of the humanities should have begun to wonder if the President was completely carried away by the material movement. At that time he was confined to his house by illness, but I remember gratefully that he sent Dean Johnson, his chief agent in the new venture, to talk with me, and called me to his bedside, to say that he "did not want some of us who stood for ideal things to think the University was to be wholly given over to the material and the practical."

Among his duties President Adams evidently took a special delight in calling in new men. His favorite expression for negotating with a new man was "making love to". He was unquestionably a fine judge of character and his knowledge of the leading older scholars and most promising younger ones of the country was remarkably wide. I was not surprised to learn later from Secretary Hiestand, that he used to keep for President Adams a card catalogue of eminent scholars. In calling new professors President Adams followed the course described by President White in his *Autobiography* as his own custom while at Cornell:

> The faculty, which was at first comparatively small, was elected by the trustees upon my nomination. In deciding upon candidates I put no trust in mere paper testimonials, no matter from what source, but always saw the candidates themselves, talked with them, and then secured confidential communications concerning them from those who knew them best.

At Madison the department of physics seemed first to have required a new head. The professor in charge had a fine reputation as a scholar, but was not successful as a teacher, and the assistant was unsatisfactory. Now it happened that on Presidents Adams' return to Cornell in July 1892, after accepting the presidency of the University of Wisconsin, he met young Dr. Benjamin W. Snow, just returned from Berlin University. Snow was a guest of Professor Nichols, and the two were on their way to lunch when they came upon President Adams, and Professor Nichols invited him to join them. Pres-

ident Adams was full of his visit to the University of Wisconsin, the beauty of Madison and of the university grounds overlooking Lake Mendota, and the many interesting people he had met. Learning from Snow, who was a graduate of Cornell (1885), and had been later a graduate student and instructor there, that he was just back from Berlin, President Adams asked, "And did you take a degree under Helmholtz?" On Snow's reply that he did, President Adams remarked, "Well, you are the first American I have known who got a degree at Berlin." Doubtless the corollary to that chance meeting was a letter received by Snow next spring offering him the chair of physics at the University of Wisconsin. The letter frankly described the condition of the department at Madison, naming the salary as $2200, to be increased by $100 a year up to $2500, which was then the maximum salary. Snow was then at Indiana University, and not pleased with the prospects at that institution, whose total income then was only $65,000. So he was overjoyed at his good luck and went straight to the telegraph office to wire his acceptance. The reorganization of the department was made with a minimum of ill-feeling, by transferring the old professor to mathematical physics.

The department of Greek was the next in order. Professor Kerr had reached the age of sixty-five and had expressed a desire to be relieved of the headship of the department. Experiment had been made of the addition of a young professor of competent scholarship, but there had been so much friction that it was clear the team could not work in harmony. I knew nothing of this, and hence was quite surprised, one balmy Sunday morning in March 1894, on receiving a letter from President Adams, saying that he would like to have a conference with me at Nashville the next Thursday or Friday, with a view to offering me a professorship of Greek. I remembered that on the preceding Friday morning the idea had suddenly flashed into my mind of a call from the University of Wisconsin. That might have passed entirely from my memory if President Adams had not told me later that on that Friday morning he had dictated his letter to me. Many people would have considered that a case of telepathy.

The next Thursday morning he came. I remember vividly his appearance as I saw him first in the corridor of University Hall. He was dressed in heavy dark overcoat, dark sack coat, greyish trousers, soft felt hat, cardinal tie. His leonine head, with full gray hair and neatly trimmed beard, impressed me. He was quite affable and I soon felt at ease with him. He attended my morning recitation and another at three p. m. A remark of his after this second class indicated that he had picked out my best pupil. "She held up her end of the line, didn't she?" he said, referring to Miss Paschall, the only woman in the class, and the best translator in the University.

I do not remember just how he began to lay siege to me, but I do recall asking, as, after lunch at my house we were walking down to the afternoon class, "How did you get on my track?" His answer was that he had written to Harvard, Yale, Johns Hopkins, and perhaps other institutions, that he was looking for a professor of Greek, and asking for recommendations; several suggestions were made, but all his advisers were practically unanimous in recommending C. F. S. of Vanderbilt University. That at least was a clever preliminary to negotiations. In his offer he put first, I think—at least that was what he stressed—$500 a year for five years, to buy books with, $500 for refitting the classical rooms, and a fellowship in Greek. The salary was to be the maximum then paid, but he suggested at once that it might be increased, if that were a *sine qua non;* for my salary at Vanderbilt University, as I told him, was larger. I asked if there could not be a fellow in Latin as well as in Greek—for I wanted to be sure of at least two graduate students. That he readily agreed to; and he said the $500 a year for books might be restricted to Greek books, if I insisted, though he thought it would be better to share this with the Latin, to which I heartily agreed. A part of his original offer was an allowance to cover the expense of moving. When I had shown him over the grounds in the afternoon, he expressed his pleasure at what he had seen, and concluded with these words: "I offer you a wider field, and it is your duty to come." I felt that I was won, though it was some weeks before I finally surrendered.

It was as if the weather and all else were conspiring to make the call attractive. Spring was far advanced; the grass was green; trees were budding, and dandelions in blossom. It was so warm in fact that the next day I drove all over Nashville with him in an open buggy. The report of my visitor soon spread over the campus, and the young professors of the "IV Club" sent over an invitation for dinner in the evening, and the good impression made on both sides rounded out the first day to my satisfaction. He spent two days in Nashville, and I dined with him the second evening at the Duncan Hotel. In all his conversation he had been direct, frank and cordial. I had been especially delighted with his enthusiasm for the study of Greek. He told me he had always felt that above all subjects Greek stood for culture, and a flourishing Greek department was to him the best index of the literary standing of a college or university. Wisconsin had lagged behind in this respect, he said, as compared with Michigan, but conditions were ripe for a change; regents and faculty were kindly disposed, and the public was ready; if the right man were found to apply the match all would soon be ablaze. I was sure at any rate that the president would be on my side, and I knew that was half the battle.

As illustrating the persuasiveness of his talk, I recall his enthusiasm as to the future of the University of Wisconsin. Educated in the public schools and in the University of Michigan, he was an ardent believer in state education. He could give me strong assurance as to the public schools of Madison, where my children would be trained, and his own hopes for the growth of the University appealed to my imagination as offering a most inviting field for my own career. He told me also something of the men I should be associated with. He mentioned among the great personal assets of the university the work of former President Bascom, a remarkable personality and the most potent influence, both intellectual and moral, the institution had ever known. There was something magnanimous in the way he talked of his great predecessor, without a trace of anything like jealousy of his prestige. In fact that same free and generous spirit characterized his praise of all his colleagues.

Dean Birge he mentioned as the most versatile and widely read man in the faculty. He mentioned especially Professor Van Hise, and it was then or afterwards that he said, "Van Hise's judgment is as nearly unerring as that of any man I have ever known." He seemed to be especially proud of the history department, as probably the strongest in the country, and quoted to me President Jordan's remark, that he would have both Turner and Haskins at Stanford if he could get them. He laid much emphasis upon the establishment of the School of Economics, Political Science and History, of which Dr. Ely was director, as the biggest step forward taken in recent years. The establishment of that school had been the work of his immediate predecessor, President Chamberlin, but he was evidently quite proud of it, doubtless in no small degree because it was in line with the similar school he had helped to organize at Michigan, some ten years earlier, of which he was the first dean. He made especial mention, too, of his former pupil, Professor Freeman, head of the English department, as the most popular speaker of the faculty, and their spokesman at the ceremony of his own inauguration.

Soon after the Greek, a vacancy in the Latin chair occurred. In the year 1895 Professor Hendrickson received calls to Bryn Mawr and to a college professorship at Johns Hopkins. President Adams tried to buy him off, and succeeded at first. Among the inducements, I remember, was $2500 to buy classical books, especially sets of periodicals; and I recall in connection therewith the hearty congratulations on our good luck received from other departments, for example: "I am just as glad as if it had come to botany," said Barnes. All seemed arranged for a time; but that was an exceptionally lucky year for Hendrickson. Presently came the offer of a professorship of Latin literature at the University of Chicago, and that he accepted. In the course of that spring four men especially were considered for the vacancy thus occasioned, and they were invited, one at a time, to visit Madison with a view to an offer. As President Adams regarded the chairs of Latin and Greek so closely connected as to be almost a unit, he consulted me at every step, invited me to meet the candidate at dinner at his house, and had

me take part in showing the visitor over the University and through the classical department. Other members of the faculty whom he thought closely interested, or who might help to create a favorable impression, were at times also invited in. When he had made up his mind he asked for a frank impression of my own opinion of the man and told me just what his offer would be. In each case the candidate was a guest of the President at his house and his traveling expenses were paid. I was amazed at the pains he took to get light from every direction before asking the candidate to come to Madison, and then to see how much time and attention he gave to the matter after the visitor arrived. Every new letter of importance from any source was sure to bring a summons to me to come to the President's office to look it over; and when the offer was formally made, it was interesting to see how persuasively he would press the matter. It should be stated, too, that part of the time that spring he was not at all well. But this was not allowed to interfere either with his painstaking efforts to get trustworthy information about the candidate's qualifications or with the hospitible entertainment he offered to the visitor when invited to Madison. The happy choice for the Latin vacancy was Dr. Slaughter.

One serious obstacle President Adams found at the University of Wisconsin when negotiating for new professors. Salaries were regularly graded, generally according to length of service, up to a certain maximum. This tended perhaps to prevent jealousy, but hampered the president in his negotiations. The following letter shows the freer scope he had at Cornell, and the course that later came into vogue at the University of Wisconsin.

My dear Mr. Angell:

I have no special fears that Mr. Andrews' doctrines on Free Trade will be offensive to our people. Mr. Sage has no tenacious views on the subject which are likely to be offended, and he sat too long under the preaching of Mr. Beecher not to be able to swallow anything that Andrews is likely to give us. I have much more anxiety in regard to other questions, about which Mr. Sage has much more feeling. All that our Board care in regard to the matter, is that the subject shall have a fair handling so that both sides will have a reasonably correct presentation. Your question in regard to the matter of sal-

ary is a very natural one, but the Trustees long since took the ground that the man whom they really wanted they would pay what he cost in the market, if they could afford to; and if a man whom they really desire to keep should be called elsewhere, they would pay whatever was necessary to hold him. Of course, there were bounds beyond which they would not go; but they have been brought face to face twice within the last year with the problem whether they would allow men whom they really desired to leave on account of a pecuniary consideration. I think the professors generally sympathize with this view. The matter was talked over very fully with several of our leading men and they all urged the course that was taken, not only in order to hold Wheeler, but also to get Andrews. Possibly this was partly from a feeling that any lift on the part of any one professor is a symptom of willingness on the part of the trustees to lift others, in case there is such extremely good work as to make it undesirable that an individual man should go. I do not see how anybody who really thinks of it can object to the system, as a system. Practically we say to our men, "If you get a call elsewhere, at a higher salary, we will then consider whether your services are worth so much to us as to justify us in raising your salary so as to keep you here"; and against that position there is really no good answer. This was the view taken, I was surprised to learn, by Eliot. When Wheeler was there, Eliot asked whether the matter had come to our knowledge, and whether we proposed to do anything to induce him to remain. Wheeler said there was an offer to raise his salary if he would stay; upon which Eliot replied, "That is right. It is precisely what I am trying to introduce here, and what I am confident will soon be adopted as the policy of the University. It is absurd to pay all men the same salaries. It tends to keep down the more ambitious, and to satisfy the least desirable."

I have never discovered that there has been the least jealousy of Thurston because he has received $4500; or of the other men who received from $3200 to $4500. Every professor understands that the Board will deal with him as an individual man just as truly as is done in a German University; and that whether an especial effort will be made to retain him here, in case he is called elsewhere, depends entirely upon the efficiency of his work. Is not this logical and correct? It certainly works well here; and I do not believe the professors any more than the Trustees, would be in favor of cutting down the salaries of the best men in order to increase the salaries of the poorest.

Very heartily yours,

C. K. Adams.

To continue giving details about calls of other professors would make a long story; the examples that have been cited

give a fair idea of the care exercised by President Adams in making appointments. It may be interesting next to mention a few cases showing how alert he was to recognize promising talent in the younger members of his teaching force. Remembering how he had once told me confidentially of the promise he recognized in young Dr. Kahlenberg and that he was thinking of him as the future head of the department of chemistry, I asked Professor Kahlenberg to tell me the story.

When President Adams came, the chemistry department was housed in the old building at the end of North Park Street. Classes were increasing in size, quarters were becoming crowded, and the teaching force needed reinforcement. Professor Daniells suggested to President Adams the appointment of Kahlenberg, then closing his year as fellow, to be instructor in chemistry, but said nothing to Kahlenberg about the matter. Shortly after Easter President Adams came into the chemical laboratory one forenoon, looked over the building, and attended Kahlenberg's classes in quantitative chemical analysis. At the close he informed Kahlenberg of Professor Daniells' suggestion, and asked him to think it over and let him know if he would accept. A few days later the appointment was made. During the next year the president dropped into the laboratory occasionally to see how matters were going, and when toward the end of that year Kahlenberg had informed Professor Daniells of his intention to go abroad as a graduate student, the president called him to his office to talk over the matter. Dr. Adams urged him not to give up his position, but to go to Germany the first semester, return to Wisconsin and teach during the second semester, and so continue alternating until he secured his Ph.D. Kahlenberg replied that this plan did not appeal to him at all, because it would not give him opportunity to stay long enough at any institution to feel at home and catch the spirit of work in the laboratory of the professor with whom he would like to study; he preferred to study abroad uninterruptedly until he secured his degree, then if his services were desired the University of Wisconsin might make him an offer to come back. The President seemed disappointed at first,

but when Kahlenberg's reasons had been fully stated he seemed quite pleased.

So Kahlenberg went to Leipzig University, and I recall the impression made at the University of Wisconsin when two years later the news came that he had won his Ph.D. *summa cum laude*. His success abroad made the President more desirous than ever to have him back, but in the meantime other services had been secured in the department of chemistry. So for a year Kahlenberg was employed in the department of pharmacy, working under Professor Kremers and with Dr. Rodney H. True, who had just completed his studies under the noted plant physiologist, Professor Pfeffer, in Leipzig. While giving instruction in pharmacy, Kahlenberg gave lectures also in physical chemistry, which were attended by advanced students and some members of the faculty in other departments, and at the end of the year, as Professor Daniells wished physical chemistry to be developed, Kahlenberg was transferred from pharmacy to chemistry.

But there were no rooms for physical chemistry in the old building, and no money was available to fit up space in the attic or the basement. After looking the matter over, Kahlenberg concluded that the storerooms in the basement would serve his purpose better than anything in the attic, so he proceeded, with the help of the janitor, to put the basement-rooms in order, himself washing the dirty black walls. The basement floors were of Milwaukee natural cement, Portland cement being very costly and practically not available as yet. Whenever one walked over these floors more or less dust would rise and get into the dishes, making working conditions very bad. The outfit was very meagre. From Professor Davies an old resistance-box was procured, but it was out of order and Kahlenberg had to make over the whole inside of it before it could be used. But in spite of difficulties, feeling sure of the sympathy and interest of Professor Daniells and of the President, he went to work cheerfully and soon all available space was taken up by enthusiastic students. In the course of the year it was clear that there must be a board floor in at least one room, so as to have a dust-free atmosphere, but Professor

Daniells said there was no money and no use to ask for it. A week or so later, however, the President paid the chemistry building a visit and came to the basement where Kahlenberg was at work with his students. He stayed over an hour, taking a keen interest in the work and the problems that were being solved. Finally, on his asking if anything in particular were needed, Kahlenberg mentioned a board floor, but said that Professor Daniells told him there was no money available. The President glanced at the floor, then rose from his chair and stepped off the room. "About fourteen feet square, isn't it?" he asked. Then he took his leave; but two days afterwards the head-carpenter came to say that he was directed to put in a board floor. It was soon completed and researches proceeded that could not otherwise have been attempted.

When President Adams was ill in the sanitarium at Battle Creek, Kahlenberg was telegraphed to come over for a conference, and spent a whole afternoon with President and Mrs. Adams. The President seemed worried. "Here I am on my back," he said, "and all these important things at the University really need my attention." Matters in the law school seemed to trouble him most. Kahlenberg mentioned the securing of funds for Agricultural Hall as also a matter of great importance. President Adams replied:

> That doesn't worry me in the least. You see, Henry has the plans all drawn, including a water color picture, showing how the building will look when completed. He will take these plans and the picture to the legislature, and in about ten minutes he will explain the situation, and say, "Now that is what the farmer of Wisconsin wants." Then he will sit in the Park Hotel a while, and he will get the appropriation.
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> "In that long visit with President Adams," said Kahlenberg, "I realized more than ever how much he and his wife loved the university and how deeply they were concerned in the welfare of the student body. He told me what he hoped of me in connection with the development of the chemistry department; but unfortunately he did not live long enough to afford me the opportunities he had in mind. . . . As I left, he felt strong enough to walk down to the station with me, and I was greatly impressed when he asked me to write him how things were actually going on the campus during his absence. He told me that he was in close touch with ex-Senator Vilas, who was perhaps the dominant spirit on the board of regents at the time,

and that I was to get my directions from Mr. Vilas, to whom he would write a personal letter."

Another discovery of his was J. F. A. Pyre, and this was made in the following manner. Reading one day an article in a college publication by young Pyre, he remarked, "That young man knows how to write." Perhaps his interest was quickened by the fact that Pyre, then a graduate student, was one of the best football man on the varsity team. Anyway, he sent for him and offered him an instructorship in English at a salary of $1000. "You aren't ready for this yet," he said, "but I like the cut of your jib, and will give you a trial." Then, with advice to read steadily with this work in view, he left the matter to take its course. Mrs. Adams, as well as the President, was interested in Pyre, and probably there was no young man who was oftener invited to the President's house. She was so much interested in his career that she offered to send him to Europe for graduate study.

Another of the younger men in whom he took especial interest was Mr. Giese. Here again his interest was quickened by Mrs. Adams' sympathies. Mr. Giese showed unusual promise as a critic and was given to writing verse, and no reader of his poems was more enthuiastic than Mrs. Adams. When Mr. Giese gave his first public lecture, on Dante, I remember distinctly President Adams' enthusiasm at my praise of the paper. "I am glad you have discovered Giese. I knew it was in him, and that is the reason I brought him here." I knew then that Mr. Giese's future was safe, so far as President Adams was concerned.

I always found him with an open ear when I told him of marked evidences of talent in any of my students. "Why, it is the business of the University," he said, "to look out for young men like Showerman and Anderson and see that they have a chance." There was no trouble in getting Showerman advanced from his fellowship to an instructorship; and then he needed no further help. A recent letter from Dr. Showerman says:

I always admired him and understood his ambition for quality rather than quantity, and I rather resented idle and slighting remarks

that students about a boarding table are wont to pass. I remember my enthusiasm after a forty-five minute convocation address of his, during which he never hesitated for a word, or repeated, or lost the thread of thought a single time. Of course I appreciated his interest in me. I don't think it was so much a personal interest in me as an interest in an active and ambitious student, but I was just as well pleased. I don't remember that he spoke to me of his interest very many times, but I knew I had his approval, and it was an inspiration. I have always known that I owed my initial appointment as instructor at Wisconsin to that—whatever it has meant in my career. I never pass his grave without a feeling of gratitude for the encouragement I received when I was really very badly in need of it, and of pity for the hardships of his last years in trying to go on with his work when it was impossible.

Another case that occurred shortly after I came to Madison is a very striking instance of his interest in young men of talent. This young man was named Dow, a Scotchman, whom Professor Olson had brought to his attention. Olson had heard of the young man through Dow's uncle, who told him one day of a brilliant nephew of his in the old country who wrote for periodicals and whom he would like to see started in America. Olson asked if he had anything written or printed of his nephew's. The uncle showed him a letter, and when Olson had read it, he said, "If he writes like that, we can find something for him to do." Olson then wrote to a Norwegian friend of his in South Dakota and persuaded him to get a place for young Dow in the state university there. But the young man had a weakness for drink, and soon lost his position. Olson then went to President Adams and stated the case to him, telling him, among other things, that some of Dow's written work had been submitted to Ginn and Company, who, after showing it to Professor Kittredge, had commissioned the young man to write a book on Burns. President Adams said, "Well, genius isn't common, and we haven't an over-supply here; if you will look after the young man, we will give him a trial. Bring him to see me." Olson took him up and left him with the President; and Dow told him afterward that the President had frankly told him he knew his whole story from Olson, but would give him a trial. He was immensely

encouraged, and said he would do his best. The President induced Professor Frankenburger to give Dow work in correcting papers, and afterwards a place to teach was found for him. Dow was often invited to the President's house and much interest was manifested in the promising young Scotchman. All seemed to be going well, when Dow was invited to a Burns celebration in Janesville. Wine flowed freely, and Dow drank too much. This was apparent when he went to his class next morning. Reporters got hold of the story, but Olson persuaded them not to publish it. The matter might have been hushed up, but a man who had taken the Keeley cure heard of it, and going to one of the regents told him they would have to get rid of Dow, otherwise he would expose the whole story. So Dow was dropped, and shortly afterwards was found dead —suicide.

President Adams was so ardent a believer in classical studies, especially in the value of Greek as a culture study, that it seems proper to devote a little space to this aspect of his presidential interest and activity. I have told above how much I had been attracted at our first meeting by his enthusiasm for Greek. In that interview he had laid emphasis on a wider study of Greek as the thing most needed in the University and the high schools of Wisconsin; he wanted a man of true missionary spirit, who by his enthusiasm would kindle a more general love of Greek among the students of the University, and by public addresses in the various cities and towns of the state would secure its incorporation in high school courses. He told me how he had called Benjamin Ide Wheeler to Cornell when the number in Greek had dropped to twenty-three, and how good teaching and "contagious enthusiasm" had wrought wonders, so that the number taking Greek was then over one hundred. He mentioned especially the new classical museum at Cornell with its plaster casts and other helps to an appreciation of Greek art. "You can have a classical

museum at Madison," he said, "if you will create a demand for it."

He believed strongly that one of the best ways to arouse general interest in the subject was to have public lectures by eminent scholars which would make it a topic of general conversation. So in the first two years after I came to Wisconsin he arranged for lectures from Professors D'Ooge and Kelsey of Michigan, Shorey and Hale of Chicago, and Wheeler of Cornell. These drew large audiences, and other signs soon indicated increased interest in the University and the high schools. Within two or three years the number of university students in Greek had more than doubled, and the number of schools offering it had at least quadrupled. Unfortunately there was a reaction later, especially after his death. The President's own unflagging interest in the study of Greek was more stimulating and helpful than all else. One day he sent for me to ask if I knew of two young fellows from McLenegan's West Side School in Milwaukee that were not continuing their Greek in the University. "That is a pity!" he said. "Can't you persuade them not to make such a mistake?" I could never weary him with talk about my best students, and if I refrained from it for any length of time, he was sure to ask, "What are your 'lads o' pairts' doing?" At the first gathering of high-school principals at the University, he put me up as one of the speakers at the banquet, to talk eight or ten minutes on "The Lads o' Pairts." "I have in mind," his invitation said, "all Maclaren has said about a boy of genius, whether it was his fondness for beetles or Ciceronian Latin. I shall probably ask you to end up the shooting match." When I prepared a circular in 1901 giving opinions of leading professors as to the value of Greek as a study in the high schools, he wrote me from Bad Homburg in Germany, where he was seeking restoration to health for himself and wife, the most elaborate and forceful endorsement of all, which I quote in full.

> I have sometimes been asked a question like the following: I have a boy to whom I want to give the best possible education. It is not

should be greatly disappointed if I were not permitted to make the expenditure. If I could spend, say $1000 for photographs, and $2500, or such a matter, for statuary, my illness will not have been without advantage. If you can do anything to help the matter, I wish you would. I am half inclined to write a letter to the president of the board.

A little later (March 22, 1901) I find a paragraph in a letter looking in the same direction:

I note all you say in regard to its being a technical year. But I want the University not to be swamped by a spirit of commercialism. Every interest should be encouraged. What men have accomplished is quite as important as what they are accomplishing.

In my letters I tried to keep him informed as to what was going on at the University, saying as little as possible of symptoms that were discouraging for Greek, but he would read between the lines more than was written. For example, in a letter written February 22, 1901:

Your letter to Mrs. Adams, like all your other letters, was read by us both with very great interest. As we have often told you before, no letters give us more pleasure. It cannot be denied, however, that of late your letters have had an undertone of anxiety or distress, which we have both been wounded to see. I see the cause, but I fear you are making too much of it, or at least that you are attributing the cause to the wrong reason. I recall the Greek fable of the lioness, which was reproached by a more prolific beast with having only one cub at a time. "Yes, only one," said the lioness, "but a lion." Your philosophy has been not unlike that of the queen of beasts. But you have had more than one a year—perhaps as many of the kind desired as any other Greek professor in the country. Wouldn't it have been unreasonable in the lioness to complain that her peculiar kind of progeny should not number fifteen or twenty a year.

But you will say this does not quite describe the case, and I admit that it does not, or at least that it is only partially true. What you want is a few first-rate lions every year and an abounding crop of a lesser kind. You have the former already; and now the question is why do you not have the latter. The reason is partly in the University, and partly in the state at large. These two elements act and react on each other. The encouragement to become teachers of Greek is very small in a state where Greek is in no demand; and on the other hand the classes, even of beginners, will be small where Greek is not taught in the public schools. So long as this condition continues the classes must be small.

I see no reason for changing the opinion I have always held, namely that the impulse for improvement must come from the University. There must be what I have often called a "contagious enthusiasm" that will spread the Greek microbe in the preparatory schools. You have done your part admirably. . . . I believe there is no way of conducting a successful courtship except by working through the heart rather than through the head. . . . Don't be discouraged, but strong and hopeful. While wondering how to improve the situation, think of your lions; but also remember that feed for the young lions must be provided.

P. S. I have hoped that Tressler would have a chance to do much good. Can't you talk with him freely and confidentially? What light does he throw on the situation? As mind is superior to matter, can't the superiority of literature over material things be shown? Can't the wonders of Greek life be shown in such a way as to attract a reasonable share of superior souls?

The best proof of his interest in Greek is his will, bequeathing his whole fortune to the University for the founding of fifteen fellowships—five in English literature, five in Greek, five in modern history. Fellowships are meant especially for the encouragement and support of university students who have ambition to be scholars, and he wished a third of his fortune to be perpetually at work developing those who would teach Greek with contagious enthusiasm.

In some quarters President Adams seems to have made the impression at Wisconsin of an inclination to adopt a higher style of living and to influence the University in this direction. Some supposed this was due to his marriage to the supposedly wealthy Widow Barnes. Some color was given to this notion by the refitting of the President's house, the style of entertainment there, and the fine carriage and horses Mrs. Adams used. He was said, too, to have made the remark that young men who were well off should have as fair a show as the sons of the poor—the reverse of Dr. Bascom's dictum. Certainly he did seek from the start to make the University more attractive to the well-to-do sons and daughters of the state, who had been in the habit of going very generally to eastern col-

leges. He thought if more attention were paid to the amenities of life; if social life were made more attractive; if the University were made, not less a place to study hard in, but one at the same time to enjoy life in; the well-to-do young men and women would be induced to patronize more their own state University. His idea seems to have been, as Pyre expresses it: "Although wealth and culture were by no means synonymous terms, students of this class had on the average a more leisurely attitude toward education than the edifying offspring of poverty and ambition, and their presence was on the whole an encouragement to liberal studies." Probably his patronage of athletics as well as other student activities had this object in view. As to athletics, his prime object, I am sure, was the good health of the students, but he could not but be aware that athletic renown was the quickest means to bring a college or university into notice, to make young men talk about it and want to go thither. His establishing the "Junior Prom" as the one big society event of the year also had this object in view. And certainly his scheme was effective. The University soon had athletic renown and the "Junior Prom" was speedily recognized all over the country as one of the great college social events; whether due chiefly to such influences or not, the tide of well-to-do students has been stronger toward than away from the University. Since his day the current has been still stronger in the same direction.

Whatever his motive may have been, President Adams was strongly interested in many forms of student activities, notably athletics. Professor Pyre, who in his day had been a football star, tells some good stories which show the President's zeal. The first belongs to the year 1894 and the day on which "Ikey" Karel carried the ball over the line against Minnesota. Minnesota had been in the habit of piling up scores against Wisconsin, and was boasting this time they would make it 40 to 0. The Wisconsin team was under fearful nervous tension just before the game began, some of them so weak that they had to

be helped over the ropes around the lower campus. Pyre himself needed aid to get over. "Of course that all disappeared when the game began," said Pyre, "but the strain beforehand was awful." The first half was fought through without a touchdown on either side. That of itself was encouraging to Wisconsin. Early in the second half Karel went over for a touchdown, and everybody went wild. Wisconsin has had many victories since, but the enthusiasm of that moment will probably never be equaled again. The score was 6 to 0. After the game the team went directly over to the gymnasium, the reaction came on, and the men lay down on the floor and bawled. In the midst of such a scene appeared President Adams to thank and congratulate them. He had never before realized, he said, what a strain the players were under. Of course the boys loved "Prexy" for this proof of his sympathy and his pride in their victory.

The following story still further illustrates the President's sympathetic attitude. It was the year after, and Pyre, then instructor in English, was still a member of the team. Professor Raymond had arranged for two week-end courses of University extension lectures for Pyre, one at Black River Falls, the other at Chippewa Falls. The latter conflicted with the football game at Minneapolis, and Pyre asked Raymond if he could not arrange for the postponement of the lecture for one week. But Raymond said it was "absurd to ask for the postponement of a lecture for a football game!" The team, however, considered Pyre's participation in the game vital to success, and appeal was made to President Adams; could he do anything? "Yes," he answered promptly; and Raymond was sent up on the 3:30 a.m. train to Chippewa Falls to arrange the postponement of the lecture. At Black River Falls, where Pyre was giving his other lecture, he received a telegram from Raymond from Chippewa Falls: "Postponed for one week." Another came from President Adams, also announcing the postponement, and adding, "Now go in and win." And Wisconsin did win. When

Pyre went to Chippewa Falls there was a little feeling of resentment apparent, but it quickly disappeared.

Another story relates to the '98 game with Chicago. Stagg's team was so much heavier and stronger that the only question seemed to be how high they would score. Our men were unable to prevent the steady advance of Chicago, and the ball was repeatedly brought near the goal line; but there they held it until Pat O'Dea could kick it out of danger. Wisconsin held them to a single touchdown. And 6 to 0, though against them, was a great moral victory for Wisconsin under the circumstances, and there again President Adams was one of the first to seek the team and offer congratulations. The Wisconsin "rooters" marched up the street with music and shouting, so that people supposed the Badger team had won; and at Madison they were welcomed home as if they had won a great victory.

Though many may not have sympathized with the President's athletic zeal, there was only one instance, I think, in which his views clashed with the faculty's attitude. The eligibility of a certain football player was questioned. Professor Skinner has a vivid recollection of the incident, and I quote from him:

> The most dramatic episode that I have ever witnessed in a faculty meeting came at a time when the President called together the members of the faculty to explain the situation. Very serious efforts had been made to get rid of an indolent football player, whose sole interest was competitive athletics rather than study. The case was a peculiarly aggravating one. He had failed on most of his work, but his class-adviser had defended him as far as possible in spite of the objections of a good many members of the faculty. Early in the year the faculty had passed a rather stringent resolution, which would, if enforced, prohibit the playing of any man whose standing was not up to grade. For some reason these resolutions had never been presented to the board of regents and therefore did not have the force of law. The whole matter was neglected until some time in November, when there was to be a crucial game at Milwaukee with Northwestern University. At the meeting the President explained that the faculty had enacted legislation that would bar —— from play, but that the resolution had not been presented to the board of regents and therefore did not have legal force; that he had

talked with Regent——, who said there was no way to keep—— from playing; under the circumstances, therefore, he, as President, would assume all responsibility and allow —— to play. He did not express any regret that the matter had turned out so, but left the impression that he considered —— indispensable to the success of the team, and as such must play at Milwaukee, even against the will of the faculty. He then dismissed the faculty with a quiet, "That is all, gentlemen." But the faculty would not be dismissed. Professor C. R. Barnes, who was then secretary of the faculty, was on his feet in an instant, and pointing his finger directly at the President said, "Mr. President, did I not take those resolutions to you before the April meeting and ask you to present them to the board of regents? You did not do it. Did I not take them back to you and ask you to present them to the June meeting of the board of regents? I want to know why this matter was not attended to." The President replied, "Doubtless the superior memory of the Professor of Botany is correct."

The matter did not end there. Professor Turner arose and in a voice vibrant with emotion, but under perfect control, expressed the feeling of the faculty. Professor Parkinson, the senior member, next deplored the situation and criticized the President's position. Others followed, and "the meeting broke up," to use Professor Skinner's words, "in what was more nearly a row than any faculty meeting has ever been in my thirty years connection with the faculty." Professor Barnes told Professor Skinner years afterward that this incident led to a permanent break between President Adams and himself and was one of the chief reasons for his going to the University of Chicago. The President was considerably disturbed over the situation that had arisen, and the next day, in talking with two professors who were urging the faculty's point of view, disclaimed any inclination to carry his point over the heads of the faculty.

Until recently I thought that was the whole story of this episode, but Mr. L. S. Hanks furnishes me with what I am sure is a continuation of the same. President Adams had great confidence in the judgment of Mr. Hanks, who had served on the board of regents before his own administration, and he was in the habit of conferring with him

confidentially and frequently. To play billiards might be the excuse he gave, but it was really to talk over university affairs that he came. One evening President Adams told Mr. Hanks over the billiard table about this difference with the faculty as to allowing some man to play in a match game of football. They played billiards till toward 11 p.m. and then adjourned to the dining-room for refreshments, the President still talking of his difficulty with the faculty. Mr. Hanks asked him what members of the faculty were especially at variance with him; and told him that he did not agree with him. But assuming for the sake of argument that the President might be right and the faculty wrong, Mr. Hanks argued, still it would be better to yield the point than to have a rupture with so large and strong a body of men; he might carry his point, but it would certainly impair his own influence; the game wasn't worth the candle. President Adams was so absorbed in the subject that he had no sense of the lapse of time. Happening to look up at the clock—it was nearly 1 a. m.—he rose with an apology for being so forgetful and took his leave. Mr. Hanks showed him out of the door, but did not turn off the light immediately. Presently he heard the President's step returning, and wondered, "Is he coming back to talk all night?" As he touched the bell, Mr. Hanks opened the door, and the President, merely thrusting in his hand, said, "I came back to thank you. I am not going to push the matter with the faculty. Good night."

Professor Skinner thinks President Adams never quite regained the confidence of the faculty as he had it before this incident, but says:

> In looking back through the years and understanding somewhat more of the situation, I am convinced that President Adams acted according to the best of his information and his best judgment, and that the blame should lie rather upon the shoulders of Regent —— than upon the President.

In this I am sure he is right. The President felt strongly

that the faculty was too stringent, but he showed good judgment and self-control in yielding the point.

Except in this one case President Adams never attempted, I think, to interfere with the athletic council or their control of athletic matters. He took the liveliest interest in the success of the team and attended all the games on the home grounds. It was human nature to be glad of the team's victories, and he was of course aware that athletic renown would make the university popular with the young folks all over the state and do more than anything else to keep alumni enthusiasm at a high pitch. But with him more important than athletic prestige was the good health of the students. Not only did he believe fully in the old adage *Mens sana in corpore sano,* but his long years of experience had taught him that athletics were a vent for a certain type of exuberance of animal spirits that would otherwise find less desirable outlets.

During his administration Camp Randall was acquired, and the football team and the crews "put Wisconsin on the map"; and his constant interest and support had their full share in this result. But in this most conspicuous form of student activities he was only manifesting the same kind of interest that he showed in intercollegiate debating and oratorical contests, in general university singing, and in all sorts of healthy social activities. For example this story, told by Mr. L. S. Hanks, illustrates his interest in university singing. Mr. Hanks' son, Stanley, in his student days was manager of the Glee and Banjo Club, and in organizing tours for the club used to get his father to advance the necessary money from the bank. With this he would engage a special car and make the itinerary in style. One time the sum asked for was $3000. This amazed Mr. Hanks, and he asked for the itinerary. It was a big one, and evidently would require a lot of money; but $3000 was too big a risk. No, said Mr. Hanks, he couldn't advance that sum; $500, possibly $1000, he was willing to lend, but not $3000. A few days later his son came again. "Would you lend me the money on a good

note with a responsible endorser?" "Yes." Then his son placed before him a note, payable in sixty days, signed by President Adams and Professor Parker. That was good enough security, and Mr. Hanks let him have the money. The club set off on their tour in high spirits; but soon they found that the Princeton club had got hold of their itinerary and cut in just ahead of them on a large part of their route. The result was poor houses and a deficit. Stanley Hanks sent in from point to point varying sums, but when he got back, said to his father, "We are in the soup—nearly a thousand dollars short." "Well, I have a good note," said Mr. Hanks; "the bank is protected." Some time afterwards, perhaps two or three months later, when the note was long overdue, President Adams came in and handed Mr. Hanks a sealed envelope, with the remark, "You ought to be proud of a son like that." Then Mr. Hanks opened the letter and found the cancelled note, with a letter from Stanley to President Adams, thanking him for lending the club his credit. When Mr. Hanks went to his bookkeeper, he was told the note had been taken up a few days before. "Well, where did Stanley get the money?" he asked. Then he was shown that his son had cashed some securities of his own and made up himself the irreducible minimum still due, some $600. The incident is creditable to the public-spirited President who would take a big risk in behalf of a student enterprise, and to the banker's son who was above letting an endorser suffer for his generosity.

Everything showed that President Adams was deeply interested in the cultivation of music in the University, especially in singing. "A great university is a singing university," he used to say. As soon as he came to Madison he helped organize the Choral Union, and did all in his power to foster the production of the best music. On one occasion, the May festival in 1896, the expenses of the Choral Union were especially heavy and there was a deficit of more than $2000. Mr. Kney and Professor Parker advanced the money immediately, and in course of time

about half of it was refunded to them. Finally, when nothing further could be expected, five men assumed the balance of the deficit of more than $1000. These were President Adams, Professor Parker, Mr. Kney, Mr. E. B. Steensland and Dr. Chittenden.

Another similar act of President Adams' is evidence of his public spirit and generosity. In the autumn of 1897 the Norse explorer Nansen was lecturing in this country. President Adams, learning that the great Arctic traveler was to lecture at St. Paul and at Chicago with an open night between, made himself personally responsible for a fee of $1000 to secure a lecture for the University, promising to donate any surplus above expenses to the athletic association. Fortunately the attendance was large—2000 or more—and there was a considerable surplus in his favor.

CHAPTER IV

PRESIDENT ADAMS BREAKS DOWN

President Adams was stricken down with serious and prolonged illness January 29th, 1900. For a year before that, recurring short illnesses might have indicated that he was breaking down, but his recuperative powers had not failed him until the February attack. He was never at the helm for more than a day or two at a time after that. After weeks of suffering at his home he was sent by his physicians, first to Virginia, then to Battle Creek, Michigan, and finally for a year to Italy and Germany. During the whole period of his absence I was in correspondence with him, and extracts from his letters will illustrate the general progress of his seeming restoration to health and his absorbing devotion to the University. Two letters were written from the Battle Creek Sanitarium.

May 4, 1900.

Today I was at the high school here, and what I heard made me think of you and of the fact that I have for several days wanted to write you. The graduating class has forty-four, of whom fourteen have taken Greek, and twelve are going to the University at Ann Arbor. One year, as the principal told me, the graduating Greeks numbered twenty-seven. They have eleven teachers, of whom ten are from Ann Arbor. Isn't that a good showing? . . .

Mrs. Adams and I are doing well. I am more than an hour a day in the gymnasium, and about an hour in the multitudinous baths. Besides that, I walk about two miles a day. The doctors all agree that I need fundamental treatment to build up a depleted system. Mrs. Adams suffered greatly from her fatigue while in Virginia, but she is now making evident progress towards being her old self. Within the last two or three days she is much improved.

The next letter, dated Battle Creek, June 22, 1900, refers to Commencement.

It was good of you to write so promptly and so fully of the exercises. I thank you most heartily. My thoughts were with the good people at home throughout the day. I hope it is not an unmanly

weakness to feel glad to be assured that I was missed. Our organization is so good that matters are sure to go on well, even when the head is off. But the head is at times very lonesome without the body. I had a sense of uneasiness all day that I was not there. But I never cease to be grateful for the assurances of loyalty I have so abundantly received. Of them all, yours was certainly among the most highly prized. . . .

The doctors say I am improving, and I must believe them. Dr. Kellogg says "If you could turn savage for a while, you would be fully well." No tea, no coffee, no meat, no "baccy," etc.

"Water, water everywhere
And nothing else to drink."

Perhaps that is not just as Coleridge wrote it, but he would have put it that way if he had sent the ancient mariner to Battle Creek.

Before starting for Europe President Adams came to Madison, for a few days, to attend the dedication of the Historical Library. Charles Francis Adams made the formal address, and President Adams spoke a few words. After a few days at Madison, he and Mrs. Adams started for Italy, accompanied by Dr. and Mrs. Farnsworth of Battle Creek.

Mrs. Adams gives the first information after their departure, in a letter to Mrs. Comstock, from which I am allowed to quote.

San Remo, Italy, November 26, 1900.

Dear Mrs. Comstock:

. . . I did not think that beautiful autumn morning when we drove together that more was needed to make it memorable, yet more came. A sentence you dropped regarding this region and a little town with its splendors gave to us both—Mr. Adams and me—such a day of gladness as we have seldom had in all our travel. First we read, as you suggested, *Dr. Antonio,* then we went in search of the Osteria Mattone and Bordighera. We thought all beauty was found just where we are, but the lovely city Ruffini has made famous holds still greater glories. Going over the road by carriage, one must drive from San Remo at least three miles before coming to the point or headland that gives the first glimpse of the region beyond. It seems like a fairy scene, dazzling with light and loveliness. We were like two children out for a holiday, and the mood did not leave us—though a solemn sense of joy holds one here, where air and earth and sea, mountain and valley and even the smallest flower seem to whisper continual praise to the Great Maker of them all. We have lived since with a certain companionship in Ruffini. This morning

we drove to Taggia, seven miles, where, as you know doubtless, he was born, and where after his twenty years of exile he returned to die. A monument is there to his memory, and in the square are marble busts of his mother and father. The former, Eleonora Ruffini, is without doubt the lovely woman of the name alluded to in *Dr. Antonio*. . . .

Only yesterday (and by newspaper) came to us the sad tidings of Professor Rosenstengel's death. It was a beautiful way to go—but oh, the sadness of his devoted wife! My heart aches as I think of her. His "Good-by" and firm handclasp were the last we received the morning we left our home. I reverenced him always, and his memory is one that any lover of the University may well be proud to recall.

You will be glad to hear of Mr. Adams' constant gain in strength. He never so completely gave himself up to a resting time; and the good effects are daily manifest.

When last I saw you, Mentone was to be our stopping-place, but on the way over a friend from Boston told us so many pleasant things of San Remo that we concluded to come here. Certainly we can have lost nothing by doing so, unless it might be a second examination of baggage; and this can easily wait. The hotel, which Mr. Adams selected as a possibility, proves to be all that anyone could desire. The management is perfect, the guests, numbering already men and women from every part of Europe (England, Russia, France, Germany, and even southern Italy), are most charming. There is not one, thus far certainly, whom one would not enjoy meeting anywhere at any time. Of course one always finds a few with whom one comes most in contact, but all are so nice, so acceptable, we must wish there were not soon to be a crowd, as there will be after the first of January, when the season opens. Dr. Farnsworth and his wife have rooms near us; but they get their meals outside, as they use no meats, being very rigid vegetarians. San Remo itself is as satisfying as the hotel, but in so large a sense one hesitates to name its charms, so impossible is it to convey it to another. You know how it lies; nestled among the hills, the mountains rising behind to give greater shelter, the laughing waters of its bay and the blue waters of the Mediterranean at its feet, its slopes crowned with olive and pine, flowers everywhere—roses in full bloom, and in every nook and crevice daisies lifting up their heads to give greeting. It is a glorious spot, so full of winsome and resistless loveliness. I sometimes feel as though the praise of countless praying souls had entered into the atmosphere to make it what it is—pure, sweet, healthful and life-giving. Blessed land! happy indeed are they who can even taste thy munificent gifts. . . .

MARY M. ADAMS.

His first letter to me is dated Hotel Royal, San Remo, Italy, January 1, 1901. It has a cheerful ring:

. . . I need hardly say that all your interest in my returning health is very gratifying. The experience of the year has greatly increased my attachment to the place and the people and I hope the Divine Director of all will yet give me some years of service. We are fortunate, I am sure, in our location. New acquaintances on shipboard persuaded us to make San Remo, instead of Mentone, our first destination, and we have been so much pleased that we have abandoned going to Egypt, and intend to remain here until the first of March or thereabouts. The reasons for this change of programme are simply the two-fold fact of my continued improvement and the opinion of the doctor that I should probably not return from Egypt as well as I might be on going. As my first object is health, there seems to be only one reasonable course to pursue. I hope that in the spring we may go to Athens, and perhaps to Sicily. My improvement has scarcely been interrupted, and yesterday the needle of an American weighing machine under the burden of my weight settled at 178½ pounds. This was without overcoat. As my net weight when I left Battle Creek was only 142 pounds, I infer I have gained not much less than 35 pounds. Indeed my weight at present is just about what it was ordinarily three years ago. This state of affairs led Dr. Farnsworth to conclude that it was absurd for him longer to remain with us. Accordingly with great reluctance I have allowed him to go. He and his wife left us this morning for a trip westward to Antwerp, and thence to New York, Battle Creek, and possibly Madison. Their services have been all we could desire, and we part with them with great regret. I should call myself entirely well, but for a little nervous weakness, which I suppose is the last remnant of the illness.

The climate here is charming. Roses, heliotropes and oleanders seem not to know any such thing as winter. Their blossoms are now upon every wall and along every roadside. Today we have sat with our windows wide open to the floor, and many have sat among the flowers in the garden. The hotel is excellent and many of the guests are companionable. The town is about the size of Madison, but the large hotels are perhaps twenty-five in number, and we have, I suppose, several thousand strangers. At this house the English are most abundant; next come the Russians, Americans and Germans.

The condition of the schools has interested me greatly, but scarcely more than the economic conditions of the country. Some time I must unburden my head of its newly acquired knowledge. Mrs. Adams, who, I rejoice to say, is very well, joins me in warm regards to you all.

The next letter, dated Hotel Royal Bordighera, Italy, February 7, 1901, I have already quoted from, in connection with President Adams' classical interests. A short paragraph, like so many others in his letters, testifies to his never waning interest in the University:

I hope you will write me as often as you are willing to, for, as I have already written to somebody, it is to the University that my heart is ever turning like the darkey's to S'wanee River.

. . . We came to this hotel from San Remo chiefly because it has an American machine for warming, and is better adapted to the temperature we require. There are many things of interest about us. The magnificent road, above which the hotel rises, is the *Via Romana,* said to be the old *Via Aurelia.* There are several antiquarians in town, one of whom has explored the mountains, and in some of the highest recesses has found inscriptions of a prehistoric nation. Squeezes of these have been taken and deposited in the museum. They are believed to show that the places were occupied long before alphabetic writing was known—a thousand or more years B. C. A Roman cemetery was not long since unearthed, only a few miles from here, and was found to abound in interesting remains. Most of them are now in the museum.

What a country it is! As I write at midday, we are having the third concert under the window—not the hand-organ, which seems to be good enough only for America—by a violin and a singer, both fit for the stage. There are tears and laughter and exultation, all expressed with the fire of an operatic training. Of such concerts we must have about five a day, and strangely enough do not quite tire of them. There is a picturesqueness about the whole matter that is almost bewitching.

Things had been going so well with President and Mrs. Adams that their friends were full of hope that they would come home completely restored, but my next letter brought bad news. Mrs. Adams had fallen ill, and she never again reached the high point of the first two or three months. The letter tells the story.

Hotel Royal Bordighera,

March 22, 1901.

How good it was of you to write at such length. Best of all, you said you loved to write to us. We took pleasure in every word. I assume that, before this reaches you, you will have heard of the illness of my wife. She is unable to read, scarcely able to listen to reading; but she insisted on hearing every word of your letter. The

dear patient is perhaps improving slightly, but I fear to have too much confidence. Her weakness keeps me in a constant state of alarm. The worst of it is that it seems scarcely to diminish. The doctors say the heart is righting itself, but the slowness of the improvement is to me certainly very discouraging. We have an excellent nurse for the day, and also one for the night, and so there seems to me nothing to do but to watch, to pray, and to hope. . . . Spring is here, but the snows of the Apennines are not yet melted, and so there is a sting in the air. The flowers seem to be in no haste.

To Dr. Birge he wrote with reference to the vacancy caused by Professor Rosenstengel's death (February 22, 1901):

I can hardly venture to give expression to my judgment in case of the men considered for the professorship of German. Successful experience is a valuable test and can hardly be counterbalanced by any brilliant uncertainty. I know not whether the attention of Angell was ever called to Hohlfeld. I presume you have already written him. . . .

Again, April 3, 1901, he wrote:

In re the Germans, I only feel like saying that I hope you will give the German department an unmistakable uplift, and that, if you don't feel confident of that, it is better to leave matters in the hands of Voss. Surely his enthusiasm, his industry, his gifts as a teacher, his popularity, ought not to be sacrificed or even endangered for an uncertainty. Of course I shall await with great interest your decision. I suppose from a former letter of yours that Schelling is out of the question. . . .

Again, to Dr. Birge, May 26, 1901:

Smith has always thought so well of Hohlfeld that I supposed he would be chosen. But you have been in a position to judge. I hope you will not get a man that is all absorbed in *Spitzfindigkeiten*. Trifles are necessary, but after all they are only chinks in a wall. No important edifice can be built on grains of sand. . . .

The next letter is from Mrs. Adams to Warren Du Pré Smith, whom she tenderly loved and wished to adopt. It is proof at once of her devotion to young people and of her gift as a letter-writer:

Grand Hotel Meranerhof, Meran, Sud-Tirol,
May 29, 1901.

My dear Warren:

Your last most welcome letter came to me in days when I wrote

no word to anyone, or you should have had an earlier reply. I need not tell you how glad I was to hear from you again or how very much your dear letter interested me. If I wished for you when we were in the Riviera I have wished for you even more here. You would revel in this place, and your scientific and poetic spirit would find rare food and rich feasting. It is a glorious region, with seemingly every beauty. In addition man has intensified and made more alluring the work of nature. The hillsides have been scaled, pathways built, parks laid out, flowers planted, trees and shrubs and vines made to grow on any barren or unadorned place, until Meran seems and is one bewitching garden, attractive at all seasons and naturally in its fullness of bloom now, although the season for crowds is in the autumn and winter. We have therefore the delight of having it all to ourselves, though if you go daily into the parks and drives there are people enough, and as for children, I never saw so many anywhere, and such beauties! Sometimes I think I see in some fine boy a likness to Du Pré, and then I am homesick. My thoughts go out to the hillsides I love so much, beyond the sea, and I would give all the loveliness here—with its quiet, its peace, its rest—for a glimpse of scenes and faces dearer than any this Old World can ever offer.

The region abounds, as you know doubtless, in great human interest, even as does the shore we left in Italy. Stirring scenes have these old mountains witnessed, not connected with science or with geology. William Tell fought out his battles here. Napoleon sent his soldiers through these narrow passes; and the brave Andrew Hofer defied tyranny in his stronghold only to give his life at last to the cause he served. One marvels how scenes like these could ever have had life here.

All of today is so laden with quiet and a great calm. Yet already the whisper is in the air that when the present Emperor of Austria dies "the red hand" will appear again, the tumult and the shouting break the silence and clamor as of old. Ah, me! Nations like mountains grow only through agitation; even the sea is pure by reason of it. The peasants of the Tyrol would impress you, I know. They are a sturdy, healthful, honest race, and in their Tyrolean costumes they are picturesque. Their frequent holidays give them opportunity to wear this dress often, and the married men are distinguished from the unmarried in that the former wear green on their hats and the latter red. It would be interesting to know just who decided the choice of color, would it not?

This reminds me that the patron saint of all lovers (St. Valentine) lived and taught here. The little church where he preached Christianity is still standing, within easy walking distance from the town. Some day you will see it all for yourself. Meanwhile you have so many things, and among them how glad I am you include a liking for Stephen Phillips. I secured a copy of "Herod" before

[illegible] to send to your home, but believe I would send a big letter [illegible] to be read over it. There is no doubt of the beauty of the thing. The greatness, the unity, the architectural construction, so to speak, is very perfect, for Dante were it [illegible] what it is, but there is one great lacking—warmth, and will to account it for cause exile among the mountains—he has no humor. Even Shakespeare could write only one play without it, and now Mr. Phillips has written two. For he is young and he has the Poet's crown. Nevertheless I am rebellious. Now England has the three great literary possessions—America not one. Would you not wish to change the record? Can it be all due to the scramble for money in our land? Well dear boy, you at least will help on the new day, the higher life. I picture myself in the thought of such lives as your dear father's—and as yours will be I am sure, if God spares you. The duty done, the noble purpose, the manful devotion, the untiring labor that asks for no reward save its own right to go on. All this means, and he knows it, but I waive it sufficient. Time will bring the rest.

And now to the dear ones in your home my truest love. Tell Julia she is much in my thoughts and prayers during these eventful days. How grieved I am that I cannot be there! Give her for me, please, a kiss large as you can make it, and ask her to pass it on to Forster and Dr. Pré. Send one also for me to Annie Bell when you write her. My love to your father. Mr. Adams would write in this and more were he here. Keep us in your heart, and believe ever in the progression you are to

Yours most affectionately

[illegible]

After this there is a long break in my correspondence. Mrs. Adams had improved sufficiently to be removed to Bad Reichenhall, Bavaria, for the benefit of her rheumatism, and President Adams had felt safe in leaving her long enough for a hurried trip to Glasgow, where he represented the University of Wisconsin at its great academic festival of the 450th anniversary, and received the honorary degree of LL.D. His next letter is dated Bad Reichenhall, June [illegible]:

It is so long since we have heard from you that I have little doubt we are greatly your debtors. I do not remember whether the last letter went east or west, but it is probable that it was reversing "the course of empire."

As you will have no difficulty in imagining, our thoughts were with you during commencement week, and especially during [illegible]

day. I hope my dispatch reached the proper destination. Hour by hour we imagined and spoke of what was taking place. As yet we have heard nothing of commencement week. The last word was the depressing one of the nightshirt parade or escapade, and the exhilarating one of the prospective appointment of Professor Hohlfeld. Though I have personally known neither of the candidates—or perhaps I should say the persons concerned—I have hoped, for your sake, the choice would be of your old colleague, of whom I remember you spoke so well. I hope you will find time and inclination to write in regard to such matters as are likely to be of special interest in the course of commencement week.

The Glasgow celebration was really a great affair, though it revealed very little "management." Matters were left very largely to take care of themselves, but in general they showed considerable ability to do so. To an American the most striking feature was the multitudinous bravery of color that abounded in the robes. Imagine five hundred delegates, or thereabouts, with the decorations of the flamingo, the parrot, the canary, the cockatoo and the bird of paradise, and you have the appearance of the parade and the audience. Surely learning was abundantly decorated. I suppose our faculty would gasp to be told that some two hundred honorary degrees were bestowed. Even in Scotland the Gospel got only about one-fourth, while the Law carried off three-fourths of the honors.

After the ceremony I hastened to this place, where my wife is trying with tardy success to shake off, or shake out, her rheumatic disposition. The trouble is persistent, and it has sometimes seemed discouragingly reluctant to let go. However, we were brave enough two days ago to dispense with the nurse who has been in attendance since January. The climate here is almost thought to have been invented for the destruction of asthma and rheumatism. The drives and the walks are delightful; the mountains and valleys are charming; and the music and people show unmistakable signs of good breeding. Locomotion on foot is difficult, but in a carriage it is easy. It rains every other day, I had almost said almost every other hour. But it is said to be good for whatever ails one. When we shall go northward and shipward is as yet uncertain. It will, however, be as soon as it seems no longer advantageous to remain here. Mrs. Adams joins me in love to all the children as well as to your own good self.

He wrote to Dr. Birge on the same subject, June 21, 1901:

The Glasgow celebration was a colossal affair, though it was not (except in points) well managed. The universities of the world were well represented, as may be seen from the fact that about fifty honorary D.D.s and one hundred and thirty LL.D.s were conferred—

scarcely a single institution receiving two. I wish that you had been in my place, for I don't know that LL.D.[3] looks or is much better than LL.D.[2] However, it was a great company to be in. I never expect again to see such a triumvirate as Lord Lister, Lord Kelvin and Sir Joseph Hooker—all past presidents of the Royal Philosophical Society—go up together to hand in their credentials. The cheering was about as great as it was when Mr. Carnegie kneeled for his degree.

The next letter brought the news that both had been ill again. It was dated

Ritter's Park Hotel, Bad Homburg, Germany, July 28, 1901.

Your letter just received put me to great shame. The fact is that the former one with its request came at a time when it was impossible to answer it. In my gradual ascent towards complete health I had been put to bed for about three weeks. During the same period my wife was not able to sit or stand. I think nothing less than those two discouraging facts could have driven the Greek question quite out of my mind. The very first day I was able to move the doctor posted me off to the waters of Wildungen, five hundred or more miles away, and Greek went to the winds. I had not thought of your request again until your letter came. I assure you that the cause of my neglect was, not "the expulsive power of a new affection," but rather of a new, though a temporary, affliction. On these grounds I claim absolution, even though, to my exceeding regret, I put you to much inconvenience. Perhaps the enclosed note, even at this late day, will serve your purpose.

Our ascending road to complete health seems not to have been very well graded or ballasted. We go along smoothly for a time, and then come to rugged ways. In approaching the Rocky Mountains, they say there are occasional descents. So it has been with us. But on the whole we have neared the goal, and we are now more able than we have been at any time before to survey the work of the coming year with courage and confidence. To me there is nothing so tiresome as the vigorous and conscientious doing of nothing. Here we observe the fashions and frivolities of the people with such content as we can command, and try to profit by the air, if not the airs, of the place. If one can really lay in a stock of indolence, we shall be rich indeed.

My wife was delighted almost beyond measure with Warren's letter. If possible, I believe she loves a boy a little better than a girl. As for myself, I am unwilling to express an opinion. With affectionate regards, C. K. Adams.

The next—and the last letter from Europe—is in reply to one I had written him, to the effect that it was generally

felt to be very important that he should be present at the September meeting of the Board of Regents. I had been requested by persons high in authority to advise him thus.

Bad Homburg, August 13, 1901.

With every word of your letter—except the compliments—I heartily agree. And yet, if you had known the situation you would not have written it. Every since January 5th we have been fighting the battle to get into condition to resume work at the beginning of the year. In the case of my wife the battle cannot be said to have been successful, at least the improvement has been so capricious and slow that up to the arrival of your letter it seemed uncertain what the true course should be. I have been confronted with the dilemma of either going back without her or delaying the voyage in the hope of further improvement. I have too much dread of an avenging Nemesis to undertake the former course. Her comment on your letter was "Of course, if that is the feeling, you must leave me here; or I must go with you, whatever the risk." It tears my heart to do either. But we have engaged an accompanying maid and shall go to Antwerp in the hope that she will not have to turn back. But the prospect is so uncertain that I shrink from the move.

Of one thing I wish to assure you: Every moment, except my shortest possible journey to Glasgow, has been dictated by considerations of health. Only one night since landing has my dear wife passed elsewhere than in a place determined by sanitary considerations. Don't suppose, therefore, that we have been indulging in a junket of pleasure. It has, beyond all question, been the most anxious and disappointing year of my life. In spite of all these facts, I shall attempt to be present at the meeting of the board. I hope to arrive in New York about September 2nd.

They came, and Dean Johnson, Registrar Hiestand, and I went to the station to meet them. Standing on the platform, I heard him speak within the car and remarked to Mr. Hiestand, "His voice has the old ring." But when he came out, I was shocked to see how he had aged in ten months. It was Saturday night when they came, and Sunday morning I received by telephone an invitation to come and dine with him and Mrs. Adams. When I arrived he was in consultation with Dean Henry, who had called to discuss with him the call of Professor F. H. King to a place in the Department of Agriculture in Washington. With such energy he instantly resumed his duties. He

felt equal to and eager for the accustomed burdens. "I could run two universities," he said to Mr. Stevens. But he was apprehensive about Mrs. Adams.

The first severe test of his strength came shortly—the opening convocation address to the students, an occasion to which he had been looking forward for months. The meeting was held in the Armory, and he spoke for forty-five minutes connectedly, clearly and logically. He declared himself completely restored to health and said that at some future time he would again address the students on his experiences abroad. It was a good speech, but it seems he came through by sheer force of will. He looked somewhat dazed at the conclusion, but I felt no uneasiness at the moment. His wife's womanly instinct, however, divined instantly what had happened, for as he approached the house she recognized that a collapse had come. Under the first severe strain he had broken down. The old trouble returned and serious illness followed. As soon as the Regents could be convened, he resigned. The night before the resignation was formally laid before the board, he telephoned me to come and told me what he had done. "I wanted you to know before it became public," he said. Tears fell as he spoke and he looked an aged and broken man. I could only listen, almost in silence, for there was no consolation. It was very hard. He had hoped to serve the University until he was seventy-five, nine years longer, and he had great plans for it. Now all was over. I knew his heart was broken, but he did not murmur.

At the meeting of the board of regents, October 11, 1901, the resignation of President C. K. Adams was presented and read as follows:

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

Madison, October 11, 1901.

To the Honorable
The Regents of the University of Wisconsin
Gentlemen:

It is with a painful sense of duty to the University and to myself that I feel compelled to place in your hands at this meeting my resig-

nation as President of the University of Wisconsin. In doing so, I am actuated both by the state of my wife's health and my own, which, in the opinion of our physicians, will necessitate our leaving Madison as soon as possible for a greater altitude and a milder climate. Before my return from Europe I felt that I had so fully recovered my health and strength as to enable me to take up the work of the presidency with that renewed vigor and energy which is so necessary for complete success. With this full confidence, I entered upon the work of the year, as I announced at your meeting in September. Some ten days ago, however, I contracted a severe cold from which I have not fully recovered, and the anxieties growing out of the ill health of my wife, warn me against assuming the active and arduous duties incumbent upon the head of the University. It therefore seems imperative that I ask your honorable body to relieve me of these duties.

In relinquishing the great responsibilities that have devolved upon me as President for a period of nine years, I do so with a deep sense of gratitude to the Regents for that cordiality and unbroken harmony with which we have been able to work together for the advancement of the University; and with a warm appreciation of the constant unity of purpose, care in deliberation, and vigor of action that have characterized all our relations during my administration.

Very respectfully yours,

C. K. Adams,
President of the University of Wisconsin.

The following resolution, introduced by Regent Vilas, was unanimously adopted, to-wit:

RESOLVED, That the Regents receive with profound regret the resignation of Doctor Charles Kendall Adams of the Presidency of the University, realizing that the University and the cause of education sustain a heavy loss in the severance of the relations he has for years maintained with much gain to the renown of the University and with great increase of its usefulness; and the Regents deeply deplore the occasion for his action and, respectfully proffering their sincere sympathy, express their hopes that a more favorable climate and cessation of labor may afford both Doctor and Mrs. Adams relief and restoration, and a continuance of the honors and happiness of life which have so long been the just possession of both.

The following resolution, introduced by Regent Noyes, was adopted, to wit:

RESOLVED, That the resignation of Charles Kendall Adams, President of the University, be referred to a committee of five members of the board, one of which shall be the president of the board,

and the other four members to be appointed by the president of the board, and that such committee be authorized to consider the same and also, in connection therewith, the subject of a successor to President Adams, in case of the acceptance by the board of such resignation, and that such committee make report to this board.

The University faculty adopted the following resolution on the resignation of President Adams, November 4, 1901:

Whereas Dr. Charles Kendall Adams has resigned the presidency of the University of Wisconsin, owing to the continued ill health of himself and wife, the Faculty desire to express their sympathy and sorrow, and to record their appreciation of the loyalty, zeal and efficiency with which he has performed the duties of his high office.

During the nine years of his presidency there have been erected for the University many buildings worthy of the beauty of its situation, the number of its students has nearly trebled, the staff of instructors has more than doubled, and its revenues have correspondingly increased. Even greater progress has marked the educational development of the institution. Schools of Music, Education, Commerce and History have been created, new departments have been organized and old departments strengthened; courses of instruction have been greatly multiplied; closer and more sympathetic relations have been established between the University and the public schools. The administration of President Adams has aimed to promote the physical and social interests of the students, as well as their intellectual and moral welfare; in its relations toward the faculty, it has shown wisdom in the choice and promotion of instructors, readiness to provide the best facilities for teaching, and unfailing sympathy with scholarly aspirations. Above all else, we recognize in his administration a breadth of conception and a largeness of execution which have resulted in elevation of standards and in growth of scholarly spirit in the institution, with increase of its renown and consequent usefulness.

We part with profound regret from him and his gifted wife, hoping that the health of both may be soon restored, and that their coming years may be full of further well deserved honors and of peace and happiness.

Committee:

C. F. Smith,
J. B. Parkinson,
E. E. Bryant,
W. A. Henry,
J. B. Johnson.

Before leaving Madison President Adams made a gift of all his books to the University library and the donation was acknowledged in the following resolution:

Madison, Wis., January 31, 1902.

Honorable Charles Kendall Adams, La Casa Loma, Redlands, California.

Dear Sir: The Regents of the University, at their recent meeting, adopted the following resolution, to-wit:

RESOLVED, That the Regents of the University of Wisconsin hereby make grateful acknowledgment of the library presented by President Charles Kendall Adams to the library of the University. This gift, consisting of more than 2,000 volumes—chiefly sets of historical works—is in the number of volumes the largest that the library has thus received and is peculiarly valuable from the intrinsic worth of the books, the beauty of the editions, and from their association with the historical studies of the donor.

Resolved, That the librarian is directed to have engraved a suitable book plate, and to have same properly placed in the books presented by President Adams.

Yours very truly,

E. F. Riley,
Secretary.

CHAPTER V

LAST DAYS IN CALIFORNIA

A few days after President Adams' resignation a terrible attack came, and I received a call at the telephone to come quickly. I ran all the way and on arrival was told that his fever was 107° and the doctor had resorted to the ice-pack. Mrs. Adams explained that they had asked him if there was anyone he would like to see, and could just hear the whisper, "Charles Forster Smith." Presently the doctor called me into the sick-room, and the patient with a faint smile remarked, "This is a fine way to receive you." But the physician whispered, "The worst is over, he won't go this time." Once more his vigorous constitution asserted itself and he slowly recovered; but it was clear that both he and Mrs. Adams must seek a milder climate. And a few weeks later they started to California, with a sick-nurse as attendant. As the train moved off, and Dr. Birge and I turned homeward, I said, "We shall see his face no more!"

The change of climate proved beneficial to both patients, and encouraging letters aroused new hopes among their friends. The first news I had was a letter from Mrs. Adams, dated Redlands, California, December 10, 1901:

> Dear Friend: We are here in this sun-crowned land, and in one of its most attractive valleys—flowers everywhere on the level, snow on the heights. Mr. Adams seems so well I tremble lest the conditions may change. We are stopping in the only hotel here, but he is searching for a house, and we think we may rent one offered us where we can have our meals sent in from next door. All this is very prosaic news to send you, but I am sure of your interest in whatever goes. The weather even will bear talking about when it has to do with healing and life-renewing for the patient, who is so eagerly looking for it. The air is like an elixir; the sun shines everywhere; the days are warm; the nights cool. Yesterday he spent six hours out of doors. He is out now, though it is not yet ten o'clock. We have a friend with us from Pasadena, one whose coming makes me feel

the touch of home and love. We lived with her in the summer he spent here with me. Already Mr. Adams seems to have met the entire body politic here. He has been called upon by four leading educators to request his presence at the meeting in Los Angeles on the 18th to 20th—a teachers' convention. Others have called asking other favors. The town is full of college men. The first one who hailed him the morning after his arrival was one of his own Michigan men; the second was a Wisconsin graduate. You see, I shall have some work to do looking after him and keeping him in bounds. There are difficulties, but we are getting on finely thus far. He promises us, for instance, he will not go to the convention. Friends must come to him here. There is enough to interest him: clubs, secret societies, wondrous developments in ways unexpected, prosperity, enterprise, energy; crudeness still,—but that belongs to our civilization, and is not wanting in older places. Perfect palaces adorn the hillsides. One wonders how they came to life so soon, and how the stately grounds ever found time to bring forth so much beauty and cultivated splendor. Not far away the opposite picture. So it goes.

A little later she writes to Mrs. Comstock:

Casa Loma Hotel, Redlands, California.
December 26, 1901.

My dear Friend:

Just a greeting for the season and a Happy New Year. May the bountiful Giver make it the very happiest, and keep near you all fresh manifestations of Himself! Then a word of ourselves—God has been so good to us. This glorious climate seems a gift from Him, full of healing for our weary bodies. Three weeks seem to have worked wonders for both of us. We go on from day to day and remain content and grateful for what each brings. To be in an atmosphere where one can breathe without thinking about it—this alone is new life. Mr. Adams lives out of doors. He shows the good results. . . .

I must tell you how we are looking for a home here, and already I find myself thinking of the possibility of having you and yours in it, tasting thus the delights of this dear place. That is something to look forward to, is it not? You will smile as you think of it in connection with the two you saw last in Madison, but we have left the "invalid," and we are taking on its opposite—so hope gives birth again to anticipation. You would be surprised how many friends we have here and how welcome they make us.

Faithfully,

Mary M. Adams.

From California he wrote early in January a letter to the regents urging a formal acceptance of his resignation.

LA CASA LOMA,

Redlands, Cal., Jan. 4, 1902.

To the Honorable
The Regents of the University of Wisconsin,
E. F. Riley, Secretary.

Gentlemen:

I have refrained from making formal acknowledgment and reply to your communication of October 11 in answer to my letter of resignation until I could form some impression in regard to the influence of the climate of California upon the health of my wife and myself. We have now been here a month and the beneficial effects of our residence here are in no way doubtful. For the first time in two years my wife has been entirely free from the troublesome ailment which so rapidly undermined her strength; and this fact alone is enough to make it unwise, and I might say impossible, to return to Wisconsin for a permanent residence. More than this, my own health, though very greatly improved, is not completely restored; and this fact would seem to reinforce reasons already sufficient for a final determination. I am obliged, therefore, to ask you at your coming meeting to accept the resignation which my health constrained me very reluctantly to offer on the 11th of October. It seems to me that the welfare of the University requires that you should no longer hesitate to consider the matter of a successor to the presidency.

Thanking you most heartily for the considerate and generous manner in which you have treated the matter of my resignation, and hoping for you and the University every measure of happiness and prosperity, I am,

Yours very truly,

C. K. Adams, Pres't

The minutes of the board of regents Jan. 21, 1902, state that:

A communication was submitted from President Adams, dated January 4, 1902, requesting determination of acceptance by the regents of his resignation of the presidency of the University of Wisconsin, and the following resolution, introduced by Regent Vilas, was adopted, to wit:

RESOLVED, That this board accept with great regret the resignation of Dr. Charles Kendall Adams, president of the University, upon his communication recently transmitted, setting forth such action. And in officially parting with President Adams, this board expresses again its sense of his great service to the University, in uplifting its aims, unifying and elevating the spirit of all its members, faculty, instructors and students, in increasing its usefulness and augmenting

104197

its repute throughout the country and in foreign lands; and tender to him and Mrs. Adams the personal congratulations of the members of this board, that in the climate to which he has transferred his residence, they have found relief from physical distress, and their warm hopes that many happy years lie before them.

President Adams' first letter to me from California is dated January 12, 1902.

Since I received your excellent letter, life here has moved on the even tenor of its way. I hardly know whether to call it monotonous or chronic. The thermometer is almost as regular in its habits as the sun. In the early morning it indicates 60°, in the evening 50°; at noon from 80° to 85°. This may regarded as a climatic report for a month. Every day hundreds of teams with empty boxes go to the orange groves, and return later in the day with wagons filled for the packing-houses. The city is already so filled with health-seekers from the East that even lodging-places are not easy to find. Four hundred new houses are said to have been built during the past year, and yet the accommodations are insufficient. If we would have anything that we would call a home it is evident we must build it. There seems no reason whatever for looking elsewhere. An old friend of my boyhood dropped in this morning and told me that for twenty years he had taken a business trip to California, and that he was sure Redlands is of all places for us the most desirable. As the spot seems to suit my wife to a dot, I see no reason for delaying building. Probably the first steps will be taken within a week or two.

The visit of Professor O'Shea gave us great pleasure. He will tell you how we seem. Of course we talked of the University as well as of Redlands. Keep up your courage with regard to the presidency. Providence is good, and you will come out aright.

The Cardinal book touched me so deeply I have hardly dared to venture on a formal acknowledgement; but I must do so without much delay. Especially gratifying was the note preceding the signatures and the signatures themselves. As a whole I believe the work to be unique. Surely our dear old Patrick would have called it a "wonderful char-ác-ter from the last place." God bless you all. The dear wife would join me in enthusiastic love if she were here.
Cordially and truly yours,

C. K. Adams.

The resolutions of the faculty at the time of his resignation were sent to President Adams with the signatures of the whole body attached. It made a large book and

was bound in the University colors. The following is his reply:

Redlands, California,
January 16, 1902.

My dear Friends:

I was profoundly moved by the receipt and the reading of the resolutions which you were so kind as to send me in regard to my retirement from the presidency of the University. Not only the sentiment, so generously and beautifully expressed, but also the painstaking care with which the resolution was engrossed and bound was peculiarly gratifying. And then, as if to emphasize what was already far more than I had any right to expect, and as if to attach an additional token of esteem to the resolution itself, the testimony is made doubly valuable by the signatures of all the members of the staff of instruction in the several colleges and schools of the University. I regard it as by far the greatest of all the honors I have ever received, and I thank you from the bottom of my heart.

In reflecting upon my connection with the University, two thoughts have been constantly dominant in my mind. The one is that since my resignation too great importance has been attached to my own individual work; and the second is that whatever of credit my administration might have been entitled to has been owing to my ability, not to accomplish much by my own unaided effort, but to unite in an undivided whole all the parts and forces of the University and lead them to the accomplishment of a common desire and purpose. To me it is unspeakably gratifying to reflect that in the course of all our discussions, some of which have been ardent and sharp, no word has ever been spoken that has transcended the bounds of courtesy or been of a nature to leave a wound or be a cause of regret. It is my hope that in the years to come the same good fortune may be characteristic of all your deliberations, and that the University we all so much love will be even more blest in the future than it has been in the past. Again thanking you all collectively and individually, I am,

Very gratefully yours,

C. K. Adams.

To the General Faculty of
The University of Wisconsin.

The letter of Jan. 12 is characteristic of President Adams, in that it shows the vitality of his spirits and the variety of his interests. He was not moping about and brooding over the blow that had cut him off from the fruition of his dearest hopes just when he had reached the climax of his career. With improving health he was taking

the liveliest interest in his new surroundings, with a mind alert to all the advantages—educational and material—that a growing California town had to offer. Dr. Van Hise, who had called to see him about this time, had been much impressed by the spirit with which he was throwing himself into the life of his new home. The local paper, *The Redlands Daily Facts,* July 28, said:

> Since coming to Redlands Dr. Adams had formed a wide circle of acquaintances and many warm friendships. He had taken an active part in the literary life of the city, and had addressed the Fortnightly and Contemporary Clubs; and he was a charter member of the University Club, addressing the college men at the dinner at the Casa Loma at the time it was decided to organize a club. He was continuing his best social and literary work since his arrival in Redlands and down to the time of his illness.

The pastor of the Congregational church in Redlands says: "He was a constant attendant at our church and discussed very freely with us its interests." He was placed on the Music Committee of the church, and the wife of the pastor writes: "It was his artistic thought that settled the placing of the pipe-organ in the new and beautiful form in which it still stands."

His next letter is largely taken up with the subject that seemed most to burden his thoughts, namely the choice of his successor. March 9th he writes:

> I am afraid that the "sweet do nothing" which is supposed by many to be characteristic of thirty degrees of latitude has taken possession of me. I am desirous of letters from everybody, but am not much inclined to write, so your letter has been neglected—or, more properly speaking, unanswered. About the time it came we were having some inconvenience from the rainy season and the cold that accompanied it. Mrs. Adams was not far from asthma and was much weakened by it. Within the past two weeks there has been some sunshine, and we have both shown signs of improvement. Today my wife has twice been with me at table—a feat not accomplished before in some weeks.
>
> Your interesting letter has been many times read. . . . I watch *The Democrat* in vain for news in regard to the vacancy. Even the Governor seems reluctant to fill the vacant regencies. Wheeler will not leave California—at least not at present. I feared it would turn out so, but it took him long to decide. He came down to talk the whole matter over with me, and I had some hope in the fact that the

difficulties here are somewhat greater than he had anticipated. While he consulted a few confidential friends in regard to the matter, he kept the matter so well in hand that it gained no publicity from this end of the line. For your own private knowledge I may say that I was authorized to assure him that he would be offered the position with a generous salary and all possible support from every quarter, if he would favorably consider it. It took him about a month to reach a conclusion. The result was inevitable.

The following extract from a letter to Dr. Birge (March 14, 1902) indicates very clearly what was President Adams' attitude towards him who seemed most likely to be his successor:

From the time of my resignation I determined to volunteer no expression of opinion to the regents in regard to my successor. This I conceived to be the proper attitude of a retiring president, and to it I have strictly adhered. A few days before I came away, however, I was called on by Judge Noyes, and a day or two later by Messrs. Vilas and Stevens, for the purpose of a conversation on the subject. The Judge's visit was only a day or two after the Harvey advocacy was begun. He asked me definitely what I thought of it, and I gave an unreserved answer. He asked me to name the men in the country who, I thought, ought to be considered. I said, "Do you mean to include our University?" "No," he said, "it seems to be thought best to add to our strength, if possible, by bringing in some one from outside." I then said I thought Wheeler the most desirable man in the country, and that my second choice would be Butler of Columbia, if Butler were free. I also told what I knew from personal knowledge and from report in regard to perhaps half a dozen other men.

He then asked me with regard to Wheeler, and, after I had replied, he said: "We shall probably communicate with you in regard to him after you reach California."

This, after a meeting of the committee, was done. Perhaps it was after the next meeting of the board. At any rate I was asked to lay the matter before Wheeler and assure him that if he would take the matter into favorable consideration he would be unanimously and heartily elected. This I did. Wheeler came to see me, and had the matter under consideration nearly a month. What I anticipated happened. He found himself so rooted in many ways that it was practically impossible to leave his post. Though he consulted a few friends in California, the matter was kept so close that there was no leakage at this end of the line. But not so at the other. Scarcely had my letter, with Wheeler's reply, reached Madison, when the California papers published a full dispatch from Milwaukee in regard to the

matter. Fortunately, there were so many inaccuracies that Wheeler was able to make a very satisfying blanket denial. . . .

I have written thus fully, not because I thought the situation really demanded it, but because of the unreserve with which we have conferred in regard to University matters of all kinds, and because, were I in your place, I should, I think, feel a desire to know the attitude of my old chief in regard to the situation.

So it seems, as in the case of Andrew D. White at Cornell, he had been asked to name his successor and it was no surprise to me to learn that he had turned to Benjamin Ide Wheeler. The next paragraph shows how he was casting about for other presidential timber. I am quite sure that the name of Nicholas Murray Butler would have been pressed by him—so strongly had he once spoken to me of his administrative qualities—but that his prevision in this particular case had already been confirmed by Dr. Butler's promotion at Columbia University. So his mind now turned to Dr. George E. Vincent. He says,

We have here a Mr. Harris, who was chairman of the committee of Northwestern University on the choice of a new president. He told me they had before them two men, Professors James and Vincent of Chicago. Vincent he said made a great impression on all their board. Harris was in favor of choosing him. But they finally took James, for two singular reasons. First, Vincent was strongly in favor of developing graduate work; while James thought they had a traditional place to fill and ought not to depart from it. The trustees generally agreed with James, and so he was chosen. But Harris said Vincent is very highly esteemed by the Chicago trustees; indeed, he went so far as to say that he "knew" that if Harper should fall Vincent would be chosen his successor. In that he is probably mistaken, for I imagine that no one but a Baptist would be chosen. But Harris said, "I know the leading Chicago trustees, and have talked with them on the matter." He says Vincent has great skill as an organizer, great tact, is a very good speaker, and has very clear and high ideals. He said Vincent gave them an account of the state universities, putting Wisconsin at the head of them all. I don't know what our regents are now doing, but if Vincent should be chosen, I should feel hopeful of the result.

Did I write you that I am building a home? The stone masons are just about to give way to the carpenters. This last week the Browns, with Dr. Fox, were here, and enthusiastically photographed the cellar and surrounding orange trees.

If Mrs. Adams knew I was writing she would join me in love to all the children and yourself. Do write us soon and tell us all the inside news.

May 31st he writes:

I hear nothing as to the matter of the presidency, and I infer that the regents will not be able to make an anouncement of an appointment at Commencement. Still it is possible that, after the break that Dr. Amos made in Chicago, the regents are pursuing a policy of extra secrecy. They may already have the game up their sleeve, though that seems to me improbable. . . .

The weather throughout May has been nearly as cold as it was in January. When the Smileys departed for Mohonk, Mr. A. K. Smiley offered us his house, and we occupied it for a month. But the increased altitude and the smothering abundance of flowers had an unfavorable effect on the convalescence of my wife; and so we are back in our old quarters. In the course of another month I hope we shall be able to occupy our own house. The painters and finishers are at work, but it is a tapering off process that reminds one of mathematical *asymptotes* that forever approach without ever getting there.

Please tell us everything you think we would like to know. How I wish I could have a long evening with you! Our life is somewhat monotonous. I go to the house every day, but I see and hear very little that is worth describing. Before the Contemporary Club—a flourishing literary club with the masculine element omitted—I read an old paper the other day that was well received; but beyond that nothing.

One of the things President Adams was always most deeply concerned about was the teaching of English. The following extract, from a letter written to Dr. Birge from California shortly before his death shows this:

I satisfied myself last autumn that our high school work in English has not justified itself. The students appeared to me to have become in a measure *blasé* on the subject, and I doubt if the English of seniors is materially better than it was five years ago. I would sweep it all to limbo, after due notice to the schools, and then hold the students responsible for making up deficiencies by themselves or by private tuition while in the University. If need be this could be accomplished by marking every examination paper on its English and grading its value at a high percent. Any boy or girl who is fit to be in the University could make up his English by learning Abbot's *How to Write Clearly,* or some other good book, and they would do it if they knew they had to before advancement. If I had been there I should have given the faculty no peace till that was done. Hubbard,

of course, would lament at the death of his child; but an occasional funeral seems to be a wise law of nature. . . .

I have the impression that Lathrop is one of the best of the crowd. Always keep a first-rate man. Reduce the number of instructors, if need be, and make the others taper off the high school work. Have them insist that any student who is deficient in English shall either remove his deficiency or be cast out. No university can ever be lifted up if the professors are forever kept turning the coffee-mill. And the high schools, through Tressler and at the spring meeting at Madison, should be taught that in the prosecution of this policy the University means business of a very stern nature. It would help the high schools more than perhaps any one thing. Now follow the precept above laid down, and regard this preachment only for whatever you think it worth.

My last letter from him was written June 21, 1902:

Whatever else has happened with you, Commencement is past. I have not heard a word, and infer that no president was chosen. Of course we are impatient to learn what was, and what was not done, and why. Your letters always give the best accounts of things. I hope you will not disappoint us now. I can well understand the hesitation of the Regents, a hesitation born of distrust of their own judgment. What I feared months ago has apparently happened. Any one invited to a presidency would naturally wait for time to decide, and if he decided in the negative, the same process would have to be repeated. I am exceedingly impatient to learn what has happened.

Wheeler was here on Tuesday and spoke at the high school commencement on *The Liberal Education.* The address was admirable. Privately he told me that in his opinion the high schools of this state are of the very best. They are the colleges of the people. He had just come from Waynesville, a town of some twelve hundred inhabitants, who send fourteen pupils to Berkeley next year. I have no doubt the proportion of people in the thousand who go to college is much greater in California than it is in other states, perhaps any other state. He expects nearly or quite one thousand at the summer school.

We are beginning to get ready to move into the new house. Probably in two weeks we shall be in our own home. My wife looks forward with much pleasure to the new life, and I hope it will be in every way beneficial. She is still, I am sorry to say, far from well, but I hope there is improvement. Neither of us is in the best condition. But we find kind friends here as in Madison. How much pleasure it would give us to have some days with you!

Mrs. Adams was delighted with Warren's letter, and has perhaps already written an answer. We grieve greatly over the accident. It

has long seemed to take at least one a year to satisfy Mendota. Now it has sadly made up for its shortage last year.

Mrs. Adams joins me in affectionate regards to you all, specially to your own good self.

As ever,

C. K. Adams.

Dr. Adams' last letter to Dr. Birge was written three days after the above to me.

It was really very good of you to write me at the close of Commencement day. Few I think would go through the exercises and give so good an account of them even if inclination came to write at all. In *The Democrat* that came last night I saw "for substance of doctrine" what you said of my work, and I thank you most heartily for it. What was quoted by Smith from you for the *Alumni Magazine* I have always regarded as the most gratifying word said of my efforts and my work. We were able to do what we did by keeping the team together. I have sometimes thought that if a careful study of different legislatures during my term were to be made, it would be found that my work with committees was quite different in point of success from that described by Dr. Wilder. The first appropriation asked for, $56,000, for an enlargement of the chemical laboratory and the mechanical shops was cut down, if I remember right, to $48,000, and the last legislature but one swept the mill tax into the general limbo of $240,000; but with these exceptions we got all I ever tried for, with Camp Randall to boot. I am vain enough to think that even the mill tax might have been saved, if I had been allowed to have my own way. In regard to that, however, the *coup de grâce* was given by another hand than mine. I am at least as well satisfied with my legislative work as with any other part of my administration. . . .

July 13th they moved into the new house, and at six p.m. July 26th he died. I know no particulars. Mr. Stevens received a telegram, and I heard the news next morning. Almost my first thought was: "That at least is safe! We can never misunderstand each other now." We had been friends for ten years, and now nothing could ever happen to alienate us. As some sort of tribute to the memory of my patron and friend, I have compiled this sketch.

Faculty Memorial (adopted July 28, 1902).

President Charles Kendall Adams came in 1892 to the University of Wisconsin, at the age of fifty-seven, with a distinguished reputa-

tion acquired as Professor of History in the University of Michigan and in the presidency of Cornell University.

A state university was the best field for his work, since he had the profoundest belief in that education by the state which he had himself enjoyed from a district school in Iowa to the University of Michigan. He believed also that university education was meant, not merely for the select few, but for large numbers of young men and young women; yet with these things there mingled no trace of that lack of faith in the state and in students which finds expression in lowered educational standards. Enthusiastically confident of the great future of the University of Wisconsin, to which he was passionately loyal, and having broad and far-reaching plans for its advancement, he had the great happiness to see the State and the scholarly world accept his large view of its mission of higher education. In his presidency the university spirit, already awakened, took full possession of the institution, and in his last will and testament he gave the strongest encouragement to the most advanced type of instruction by the bequest of his whole fortune to the University as a fellowship fund in the graduate department.

President Adams' personal qualities fitted him for his position. In feature and distinguished bearing he looked the gentleman as well as the scholar, worthy to be president. He had worked his way through college, and his example was of incalculable value as an incentive to that large class of American youth who have little to help them rise in the world save energy and character. Buoyant and even youthful in spirit, he was deeply interested in the sports as well as the studies of young people; his zeal for athletics coming mainly from the conviction that a maximum of clear and sane thinking, as well as the most moral living, is to be expected from men in good health.

He was a sincere Christian and deeply sympathetic with all that makes for religion in the University. His intellectual sympathies were broad, and unity of purpose and harmony of action characterized all departments of the University during his administration. He had remarkable capacity to choose and to use men, and he administered the University as a democratic institution, in which he recognized the wisdom and the work of the faculty as the important factor. But while always ready to give warmest encouragement to the spirit of research among the instructors, he reminded them that "the University is for the students", and that instruction should not be sacrificed to investigation.

Therefore, while we mourn his loss as a personal bereavement, and while we place on our records this testimonial of our appreciation of his work and of our sorrow for his death, we find comfort in the assurance that his memory will abide in the annals of the higher education.

Be it resolved that this expression of our estimate of his worth and

his services, of our love and admiration, be spread upon the minutes of the faculty, and that it be fittingly communicated to his devoted wife, and given to the press.

C. F. Smith,
J. B. Parkinson,
E. E. Bryant,
F. J. Turner,
H. L. Russell,
J. F. A. Pyre,
J. G. D. Mack.

Dr. Birge received two short letters from Mrs. Adams after her husband's death.

Kendall Place, Palm Avenue, Redlands, California,
September 25, 1902.

My dear Dr. Birge: This little word only goes, as though at his bidding, to give you greeting and wish you every blessing on the work of the New Year. I am not able as yet to answer letters, and this will explain why your very kind message has remained unacknowledged. The days go on, but the inscrutable darkness for me does not lessen, nor can it. I strive to help on, as far as I can, the things here he would have done. But my chief love is where his heart was centered, and if ever you think of anything I can do to aid, in the least way, the work, dearer to him than life, I beg you to let me know. Meanwhile, I am, with sincere regards, yours most cordially,

Mary M. Adams.

The second refers to the Memorial exercises at the University.

October 4, 1902.

Dear Dr. Birge: Thank you for your kind letter. I must indeed be interested in the Memorial exercises. When will it occur? Is not Dr. White likely to be in Europe all winter? President Angell is, however, here and President Wheeler; but what after all your dead friend and leader would prize most would be words of endearment and remembrance from his fellow-workers and his colleagues. You will know how to arrange all, I am sure, and I feel beforehand, when it is over the event will be one the University will be able to recall with honor to itself.

I enclose a tribute you may not have seen and a valued letter from Mr. Wheeler. I will be grateful if you will return each of these, but before doing so I request that you show Mr. Wheeler's letter to Mr. Stevens. With continued hope and affection for the work and all who serve it, I am gratefully yours,

Mary M. Adams.

Mrs. Adams lived for nearly six months after her husband's death, but she was in steadily failing health. Her thoughts were always with him. Miss Zona Gale, who had been a favorite of Mrs. Adams at Madison, paid her a visit toward the last, and was with her when the end came. A letter which she wrote at the time to a friend in Madison was published, and touchingly portrays Mrs. Adams' grief, and her own burial.

For two months after President Adams' death, July 26th, Mrs. Adams drove every morning to the little cemetery in Redlands, and herself arranged flowers and pepper boughs on his grave. Afterward, when she was so weak and ill that she could no longer go, one of her neighbors kept the grave green; and because she knew what Mrs. Adams wished, this neighbor and friend never failed to lay with the roses from her garden a bit of scarlet geranium. Mrs. Adams said repeatedly that it was that flower which seemed to her nearest the cardinal of the University.

We drove to the cemetery Sunday morning, November 19th, two days after my arrival. She carried a great basket of white flowers and geraniums, but she did not leave the carriage that day—the only time she ever visited the grave without going to it. That was the last time she drove, and the last time she was beyond the veranda. Two days later she was confined to her bed, and she never again came down stairs.

Her room looked out on the San Bernardino Range and from her window she could see the snow peaks. The house is delightfully situated amid two acres of orange-trees, and from every window one looks upon something beautiful. There is a tower from whose two floors the sunset view is wonderful. The rooms look strange enough without the furniture and bri-a-brac which made the Madison home attractive, but they were comfortably furnished, and I think nothing was really missed but the books. In the first days of her illness she lay where she could see the mountains, but later she could no longer see them, though she asked sometimes to look out at the sun.[1]

It was in those first days that the name of nearly every one with whom she had been associated in Madison was on her lips. She asked news of everyone, and she recalled again and again memories of the goodness of many of her friends. She grew weaker with alarming rapidity, but when she spoke all her thought seemed to be of her life in Madison. One day when she was too ill to listen to reading she suddenly spoke quite clearly, though her eyes were closed: "Do you

[1]Her very last request, Miss Gale tells me, was to be lifted up so that she could see the mountains.

think", she said, "that I made everyone welcome?" I knew where she meant, and tried to make her sure. "Perhaps not," she said, "perhaps not, but I tried to make everybody welcome." She herself freely of arrangements she wished made. "It does not matter to me," she said, "where we are finally laid—at Madison, or Ann Arbor, or Cornell—only that we be together."

She spoke of this repeatedly; as the days passed, her mind dwelt more and more on her close friendships in Madison. There came an evening when it was difficult to understand what she was saying, but she did say quite distinctly: "Tell them I love them all, and that I did the best I could." "In Madison?" I asked her, and she repeated it. Twice afterward, when she did not open her eyes as she spoke, she said the same words. It was one of the last messages on her lips. And one of the things she said last was no less significant and memorable. It was one evening toward the end, when she awoke from several hours of deep sleep and called to us. And then she said simply; "People don't say enough. Isn't that true? They do not say enough."

She did not suffer at the last, and she died without waking. On the day of the burial it was indescribably sad that the faces of those assembled were so dissociated from the life in which I had known her. I had a curious feeling of resentment as I looked about on those who had come so lately to love her, and to whom it fell to be where so many far away near ones were denied. Not one was there to whom the University and her love for it was more than a name. But at last all around that room, just as she had placed them, were pictures of many of the faculty and many of the students and friends who loved her. And still in place of honor was the great red book, of which she was so proud, containing the resolutions passed upon the resignation of President Adams with the autographs of the faculty and regents. These were only symbols of presence, but to me they were very real.

The burial was private, and but few carriages followed to the cemetery. The grave of Dr. Adams was green with boughs of the pepper-tree, and it was quite covered with scarlet geraniums. I laid a little cluster of these among the roses and callas with which her grave was filled.

They lie upon a slope from which the view extends far down the valley to San Bernardino and across to the mountains they both loved, which seem very near and are now snow-covered. As we turned away that afternoon the sky was glorious with the sunset, and far behind the highest white peak the full moon was just rising over the snow.

CHAPTER VI

PRESIDENT ADAMS' BEQUESTS TO THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

It is a matter of general knowledge that President Adams gave the supreme and final proof of his love for the University of Wisconsin, by making a will directing that after the death of Mrs. Adams, their joint property should go to the University of Wisconsin to endow fifteen fellowships in English, History and Greek.

But there is a circumstance connected therewith that is known to few. That circumstance was disclosed by an interview sought by me with Mr. Lucien S. Hanks, who served with Mr. Burr W. Jones, (now a justice of our supreme court) as one of the two Madison executors of the will. Mr. Hanks stated that under the laws of California, executors of wills were required to appear personally and submit themselves to the jurisdiction of the court; that they accordingly proceeded to Redlands, California, and were cordially received as guests of Mrs. Adams in their beautiful home built by President Adams, wherein he finally passed away; further saying that, the usual course of proceeding in probate matters having been carried through, Mr. Jones returned to Madison to meet important professional engagements. Mr. Hanks continues the story:

> I remained the guest of Mrs. Adams, who assisted me in making the requisite inventory of real estate and personal property, the latter consisting mostly of investments theretofore made by me for President Adams. As I had expressed to Mrs. Adams a desire to visit the grave of the President, she courteously accepted my escort to the cemetery. I well remember my sunset drive with Mrs. Adams to the Redlands cemetery, situated upon a broad plateau above a deep ravine, wherein the river flowed rapidly. The high mountains opposite and the wonderfully grand vista of the sunset through the ravine were indeed sublime. As we drove along Mrs. Adams told of her husband's wishes to be buried near "the University he loved so well." "That means, then," I suggested, "that you will both rest there eventually."

Mrs Adams survived her husband but a few short months. During that period, Miss Zona Gale, Portage, Wisconsin, was the guest of Mrs. Adams and was with her when she passed away. Sometime thereafter, I had the pleasure of meeting Miss Gale in Madison at the residence of Mr. and Mrs. William F. Vilas, who told me that Mrs. Adams had expressed to her the wish of the President that their final resting-place should be near the University.

The passing of Mrs. Adams gave effect to the generous bequest of the President to the University of Wisconsin. Not long thereafter, I again went to Redlands to negotiate a sale of the homestead, when during my interview with the clerk of Surrogate, to obtain an order for the sale of the homestead, he—to my amazement—called my attention to the law of California, which had been adjudicated by the supreme court of that state, wherein, no testator could lawfully leave to any charitable, penal or educational institution, more than one-third of any estate under the jurisdiction of any county court in California. That decision however would not invalidate the entire will; the remaining two-thirds of the estate would remain immune and would revert to the lawful heirs.

I was glad indeed to know that neither President nor Mrs. Adams had knowledge of the dilemma in which the executors found themselves. The will of the President was absolutely valid in Wisconsin, and the names of the witnesses thereto, being Madison residents, indicated that it had been executed before he went to Redlands, California. Upon returning to Madison, I informed my co-executor, Mr. Burr W. Jones, of the situation, and we were in hearty accord that the thing to do, was not to disclose the situation to the public, but make quiet and diligent search and inquiry for the heirs, and, failing to obtain waivers, the executors should settle with the heirs on the best terms obtainable.

I will not recite our laborious efforts to find heirs while avoiding publicity; suffice it to say, that, not long thereafter, I reported to Mr. Jones that the sole heir to two-thirds of the estate was Charles Adams Stanton, then living at Neenah, Wisconsin, he being the son of a deceased sister of President Adams. I then wrote Mr. Stanton, informing him of the decease of his uncle, and of the legacy to him of $500 and a bequest to his daughter of $200 yearly during her minority, to assist in her education, and suggesting an interview with the executors in Madison (at our expense) with all convenient speed. For it appeared evident at that time that the executors would have to negotiate a settlement with Mr. Stanton and pay over to him such proportion of the estate as might be necessary to obtain a waiver of his interests.

Mr. Stanton, thereafter, soon appeared at my office, when he and I walked over to the law office of Mr. Jones, opposite the Capitol

square, where we found him busily engaged with clients. Mr. Jones said, "Call again, gentlemen, at twelve o'clock." As Mr. Stanton and I walked down the stairway to the street, he said, "I'll go and sit on the front porch of the Park Hotel and have a smoke, and you pick me up when you come over." I at once replied, "I have some cigars which you will find are good for the price." As we walked together through the park toward the State Bank, it occurred to me that the thing to do was to ascertain first if kindly and social relations existed between him and his uncle, and if possible to obtain the necessary waiver without expense to the estate.

I closed the door of the directors' room of the bank as we entered and pointed to a chair by a large flat table at the end of the room and, inviting Mr. Stanton to be seated, handed him a box of cigars and told him to help himself; whereupon, he handed me a letter of indentity (which I had invited in my letter previously referred to), and, while we sat there smoking, I inquired:

"How long is it since you have seen your uncle?"

"It is over thirty years," he replied.

"You corresponded with him, of course?"

"No, I can't say that I did."

"Did he not frequently write to you during that period? You must be forty-five years of age."

"Oh yes, he used to write to me once every few weeks from the time I was a boy, while my mother was alive."

"Has he been writing you every few weeks during the past thirty years?"

"Yes, but mother used to answer the letters when I was a boy; although he kept on writing, I did not get into the habit of answering them."

"Always remembered you every Christmas, didn't he?"

"Yes, yes," he said, "I usually got a letter with one or two hundred dollars."

"Well, you surely thanked him for your Christmas present."

"I endorsed the check and he knew I got it. I had got out of the habit of writing. I ought to have done it, but I didn't. I'm sorry."

"Are you doing a pretty good business up there at Neenah?"

"Yes, I am getting along all right."

"Got something ahead?"

"Oh yes, something."

During this conversation I was seated at the other side of the table. I then got up and sat down on the corner of the table close to Mr. Stanton, and quietly said to him, "You tell me that for some thirty years you have received letters and money from your uncle very, very frequently and have failed to express to him your appreciation? Now I must tell you the situation, Mr. Stanton. Your uncle devoted his whole life to the cause of educating youth and showing the

benefits derived from universities, and he wanted his estate to extend those benefits still further. His last will, not forgetting you and your daughter, was executed to promote education. In appreciation of the liberal treatment he had received from the regents of the University of Wisconsin during his illness he executed here in Madison his will, conveying his property to the University for educational purposes, subject always to the bequest to you and your daughter. He sought to benefit himself by moving to Redlands, California, and there he built himself a home. That being done, his will became subject to the law of California, which prohibits residents of that state from conveying more than one-third of their property to any university, and the courts of that state have sole jurisdiction of the disposition of their estates. Under its laws, you, being the sole heir, would receive, in addition to the $500 that you have already received, and in addition to the $200 yearly to your daughter, two-thirds of the remainder, and the wishes of your uncle would thereby be defeated. Please think over your record with him and compare his record with yours. You and I appear to face litigation over your uncle's estate, but I am satisfied you would defeat us, and thereby defeat your uncle's wishes. Do you want to do that? Can you do it, in view of what your uncle did for you?" Mr. Stanton hastily rose from his chair and said, "Don't talk to me that way!" He walked up and down the room extremely agitated. Directly he came to me, and striking the corner of the table forcibly with his hand, said, "No, I can't take it; I accept the provisions of the will." I grasped him by the hand and said, "You are of noble character, Mr. Stanton, and the regents of the University will appreciate your action."

I thereupon prepared a waiver and conveyance to the regents of the University of all his rights, title and interest in the estate in consideration of his love and affection for his uncle and of ten dollars to him in hand paid. Mr. Stanton read it over carefully and strenuously objected to receiving the ten dollars, but I prevailed upon him to accept it, and the waiver was properly signed, witnessed and acknowledged before a notary. We thereupon adjourned to the office of Mr. Jones who heartly thanked Mr. Stanton and said to him, "You have a noble character."

The regents appointed Executor Hanks and Regent Merrill to escort the remains of the President and Mrs. Adams from Redlands to Madison, where appropriate ceremonies were held at Forest Hill cemetery, appreciative addresses being made by President Van Hise and Dean Birge of the College of Letters and Science in the presence of the faculty and many other friends.

Come with me to Forest Hill, and near the entrance to the cemetery, on that spacious lawn, we shall see evidence, in that solid but simple granite tomb, how gratefully the regents and faculty of the Univer-

ity gave to the remains of President and Mrs. Adams fruition of his wish that their last resting-place should be near the University he had loved so well—fruition in letters of granite, as follows:

Charles Kendall Adams
1835-1902
Historian, President, Professor and Dean
University of Michigan, 1863-1885
President of Cornell University 1885-1892
President University of Wisconsin 1892-1902
Mary Mathews Adams
1840-1902
His devoted wife and faithful coadjutor

CHAPTER VII

GENERAL APPRAISAL: AS PRESIDENT AND AS MAN

It would seem proper now to attempt some general appraisal of the man and his work. In the preceding pages some idea has been given of President Adams' qualities as teacher and of his success as professor of history at the University of Michigan, and especially of his executive work at Cornell and at the University of Wisconsin; incidentally, of course, also of his qualities as man; here it will be a general summary. He was called on to do considerable public speaking and in this had good success, though he was not a born orator. He was probably at his best in talking to a college audience. But it is in his administrative career that we find him most effective, and if we had all the data necessary to form an accurate judgment, I think we should conclude that his greatest success was achieved as university president.

While still in good health he was a man of distinguished presence. He was about six feet in height, one hundred eighty pounds in weight, strongly and compactly built, showing energy and vigor but still more reserve and poise. His leonine head at once caught attention. His eyes were steel grey and overshadowed by heavy grey eyebrows; his features strong but softened by years; his beard grey and neatly trimmed, his grey hair worn full and rather long. His eyelids had a droop which gave something of heaviness to his features till he lifted them and greeted you with a kindly smile. He wore usually a dark sack coat, greyish trousers, a cardinal tie—the university color—and a dark soft hat. He walked with a cane, not because he needed it, but from habit. You would be sure to notice him in any crowd. Among the faculty you would have instinctively picked him out of all the group as

the head of the University. Professor Kahlenberg aptly described him when he said: "He looked like a president, he walked like a president, he talked like a president." With years he had ripened and grown fine-looking. Regarded as perhaps dull when a boy and somewhat uncouth in appearance as a young man, he had come at sixty to look like a man of distinction. A Milwaukee journal once, in want of a photograph of King Leopold of Belgium, inserted instead a picture of President Adams. Considering Leopold's reputation, the President was perhaps not flattered; but it was a compliment all the same. A king ought to be a distinguished-looking man, and President Adams was that.

He learned his lesson in administration first at Ann Arbor, as a very influential professor and co-worker with the president; then as president of Cornell, where he had to face many puzzling problems. With such training he came, at fifty-seven, to the University of Wisconsin as president. He had learned by a long course of discipline, and his nine years' service here was a period of happiness and success. The more closely this work is studied the more one feels justified in according him high rank as president.

Dr. Birge was twice called upon to summarize and characterize the work accomplished by President Adams at Wisconsin, first at the time of his resignation, second at the memorial service a year later. The first summary President Adams saw, and was more pleased with it than with any other appreciation then made public. It was as follows:

> President Adams was one of the first men of this country to catch the spirit and temper of true university study and administration. This spirit he embodied, first, in his own teaching; and this temper, as larger opportunities were afforded him, he carried into the institutions of which he has been the head. The university temper expresses itself, when it is present, in every department of the university work, from the freshmen classes to the graduate courses. It was by no means absent from our university in the years before 1892, yet it has received a mighty impulse and stimulus from the example and teach-

ing of President Adams. This internal growth, this development of a higher standard of scholarship in the University, have been President Adams' great contribution to the intellectual life of the state. By a higher standard of scholarship I do not mean the exaction of more work from the student or the mere "raising of the standard" in the technical sense, but a lifting of the institution to a truer and higher intellectual position. This is the greatest service a president can render to his university, and this President Adams has fully rendered to us. To this end all his measures have tended. In carrying out this main purpose, President Adams has shown great breadth and largeness of view. He has been able to conceive large plans for the University, which he has boldly executed. Yet he has never striven to enforce his own ideas on the various departments, aiming rather to inspire unity and harmony of spirit and purpose than to secure a similarity in method. Thus he has been able to win and hold the sympathy of the faculty for his plans, and their cooperation in working them out and applying them in the administration and the teaching of the University.

A few extracts taken from Dr. Birge's memorial address, though involving some slight repetition, make material additions to the first estimate:

President Adams was fortunate in the time of his coming to the University. He found it an organized university. During President Chamberlin's administration the University had received an outer organization from the legislature and an inner constitution from the regents and faculty; an organization which it still retains almost unchanged. Still more, President Adams came to a university just endowed with a generous building fund for its expansion. . . . In university organization, in the education of the state to a liberal financial policy, in the education of the university to a liberal educational policy, the first steps—those proverbially costly first steps—had been taken, and that in no timid or hesitating manner. President Adams found nothing to undo, he found little to change; he could devote his whole strength to urging on and to guiding the advance of an institution confident of its future, increasing in the number of its students and in its resources, with a united faculty, hopefully and eagerly entering new fields of education and of university life.

The situation was a fortunate one, so fortunate as to be dangerous to a president of narrower views or lower ideals than President Adams. He might well have felt that an institution so fortunately placed needed little aid from his efforts. It is one of his great merits that he saw in these conditions only the opportunity to a larger success. He made them a basis for further advance and for raising the material and educational standards of the university. This compre-

hension of the condition of affairs was evident in his inaugural address on "The University and the State." He struck the keynote of his administration in the closing words of that paper: "As I recall the history of what has been accomplished; as I contemplate the resources of this great and noble state; as I survey the enormous possibilities and opportunities, I cannot doubt that the legislature and people will be content with nothing short of making it worthy of the state; and this means the peer of any other university in the land.

"A university worthy of the state, and this means the peer of any other university of the land." These words contain the essence of his policy and indicate what was his chief merit as president. He was through and through a *state university man.* He had been trained in a state university, in our older sister across the lake, the first incarnation of the ideal of the American state university, and his nature was saturated with that ideal. His experience as the head of Cornell University had broadened this ideal instead of antagonizing it. Of the eastern universities, Cornell is nearest the state university in temper and aspiration. Or one may almost say that, of the universities belonging to the type of state institutions, Cornell is most in sympathy with the great university foundations of the eastern states. Thus educated into the state ideal, broadened by contact with men and institutions of New York, President Adams returned to the west, to us here at Wisconsin, at a time when state and university alike were ready for him.

Then, after two or three pages devoted to President Adams' ideals of democracy and education, of the university's service to the state, Dr. Birge comes to that idea which most immediately dictated his university policy:

The university is for the students. . . . . This spirit—the university for students—governed his administrative policy. Eager as he was for research, and profoundly as he believed in it as an indispensable factor of university life, he would never sacrifice teaching to research. Among the younger members of the faculty it was always the teacher for whom he was looking, the man with sympathy for students like his own, who could draw the students towards himself and by the contagion of a common intellectual life inspire them with a love of learning, and enthusiam for study. "A university," he said in his last address, "is chiefly an inspiration and opportunity." You see how unconsciously and yet how completely the definition is framed from the student's point of view. Not a place for research, not a depository of learning, not a place for teaching, but an institution which offers wide opportunities for study and for culture, and whose chief institutional function is to inspire youth eagerly to enter upon those opportunities. . . . .

What now shall we say of the temper with which he administered the University and influenced its inner life? How did this personality affect the institution? First among the qualities which we felt in him as president and which gave him influence, I should put President Adams' loyalty to the University and his affection for it. Loyalty is a quality which may be assumed in a college president, yet in the intense form in which President Adams felt it the quality is rare. It almost seemed as if he had never been associated with any other university, so completely and quickly did he become identified with us. All of his personal hopes and ambitions, all of his desires for the future, all of his plans, were associated with the University of Wisconsin. . . .

. . . None of us who talked with him in the last months of his stay here will forget the burden of his regret over leaving the University. He grieved, not for himself, but for his university work. He grieved that he must leave the college that he loved; leave unfinished large plans for its development; leave unfulfilled great hopes for its future. Yet strongly as he identified himself with the University, he never attempted to make his own personal peculiarities those of the college; rather was there in this respect a sense of detachment. He was careful not to import his own personal feelings and wishes into his work. His central purpose was so to arrange matters as to secure the best results from the personality of each member of the faculty; to give each man the chance for personal expression which a good teacher must have; and as the opportunities were given, he looked for the expression of personality. I recall the disappointment with which he sometimes referred to this or that young teacher whose work, faithful but colorless, failed to reveal those personal qualities which he above all valued and sought in a teacher. . . .

The great result of his administration was the raising of the university standards. I do not mean that natural and inevitable rise in educational demands and methods which each year should always bring. To this he gave little heed. It takes care of itself. But President Adams, in a far deeper sense, raised the standard of the University. He showed to the institution a larger academic life than it had yet enjoyed. He gave opportunity to develop this life, to bring to the front the university temper in all of its teachings. To the development of this indefinable spirit whose presence makes the university and whose absence marks the big college, his influence was always given; silently, but effectively. I say silently because he rarely talked about these matters. He understood that such changes are not effected by preaching, but they are brought about by constant influence and example. He understood, too, that one man can do little in causing advance in this direction, but that the cooperation of all the powers of the university is necessary. In a letter written not long before his death he referred with pleasure, and some pride,

to the fact that he had "kept the team pulling together" throughout his administration.

Certainly it is not given to many executives to make so many changes, to effect so marked a growth of a university, with such entire harmony in faculty and regents, and with such complete utilization of all the forces of the institution. That he succeeded in this difficult task is due to the wisdom with which he placed himself at the service of the University and to his skill in uniting all the powers of the institution in the execution of his plans. This result of President Adams' work is by far the most important. He heightened the spirit and temper of the teaching given by the University, and elevated the educational ideals which inspired it. Thus his administration not only enlarged the material resources of the University and increased its size, but effected an even more important advance in its inner life. This is the great contribution of his work to the University and to the state of Wisconsin—a contribution whose value will become clearer as the years pass away.

President Adams was instinctively a gentleman and had the bearing, the look, the courtesy of a gentleman. He belonged to an old family, which, though probably never rich, had become impoverished. It still had, however, something in the blood and perhaps in tradition that manifested itself in him more and more as he rose to higher positions in the world. His features underwent a remarkable transformation in the course of time, becoming, from plain and unattractive in the early days, distinguished and almost handsome towards the last. This was, I think, good blood responding to place and opportunity.

It was natural that a man with such qualities should become, as president of a great university, a genial host. In this respect, when at his best, I have rarely seen him surpassed. He presided at a banquet with dignity and grace, was a genial toast-master, and exerted a pleasing influence over the company. On such occasions he was uniformly tactful. He liked to do such things and did them well. He seemed to feel that he was, not simply Adams the man, but Adams the representative and spokesman of a great public institution, somewhat as a governor of a great commonwealth should feel. At his own table when guests were present he was at his ease and consequently made his guests feel at home. I have been there when I was

the only guest, or with one or two others as fellow-guests, and under such circumstances he appeared to the greatest advantage. He knew how to draw out guests and give them the field. I have always enjoyed a good small company at table, and I remember no such occasions which were more delightful or in which the host impressed me more favorably. Such a social gift is a gracious quality in a man and an important asset in a university president.

He was kind-hearted, a dutiful son, a considerate and affectionate husband, and genuinely interested in other men, especially in younger colleagues. Professor Kahlenberg tells elsewhere how President Adams used to call on him at work in his laboratory, and that, I must believe, was not an uncommon thing with him in the case of other professors. I recall gratefully his coming sometimes to my classes, and I doubt if any other president of the University of Wisconsin ever so often showed his interest in that way. President Van Hise once regretfully acknowledged that his own bent was not in that direction. President Adams liked to have young men of the faculty at his table, realizing, perhaps unconsciously, that nothing would give him a stronger hold upon them and prove more encouraging and stimulating to them. Young men like to work for a leader who knows how to unbend in season. He knew how to draw them out and induce them to talk freely. I have known cases where he was not tactful in dealing with some of those in his company, where he made them feel ill at ease and awkward; but only in his office, never at home. Men whom he could treat in that way he probably never admitted to his inner home-circle.

With younger people whom he liked he was apt to be affectionate, as was the case with Mr. Gregory, as mentioned in his letter to me. I always found him so, and I shall never forget the genial smile that lighted up his face when in his office, after audiences were over, he raised his drooping lids and recognized me. That always put me in a good humor, especially when, after answering my question, he would remark, "Are you very busy? If not, sit

down, I want to talk with you." Instantly I was drawn to him, much as a son to a father, and felt much more at home than most sons can feel with fathers. How far this went with others I can only guess. The note is unmistakable in communications I have seen from Gregory, Kahlenberg, Knowlton, Olson and Pyre. But it was probably not shown to a great many, for in the very nature of the case such a friendly attitude cannot be manifested toward many people. It was probably notable especially in the cases of those upon whom he had reason to bestow some especial kindness or favor. This was his attitude toward Registrar Hiestand, who says that President Adams always treated him more as a son than otherwise. And this is abundantly clear in the present to him of the mare "Bess," as well as of the fine oil portrait which adorns Mr. Hiestand's parlor wall. Tacitus says, "It is human nature to hate the man whom you have injured," and it has been generally verified, at least since the time of Thucydides, that we are apt to continue to be kind to those to whom we have shown a kindness. I remember saying in 1894, after I had accepted his call, "I am going to let him continue to do me favors; he will get into the habit of it." It worked. I think he was not consciously given to favoritism; a kindly heart must have outlets of this sort, but would naturally often be misunderstood as being partial.

He was naturally self-reliant, I think, and his self-confidence had doubtless grown with the years. This spirit had been fostered during his career as professor at the University of Michigan; for as one of the foremost men in a young and growing institution, where decisions of importance were constantly being made, he had good training in self-reliance. Such training was excellent preparation for the duties of president at Cornell and later at the University of Wisconsin. The most important decisions a president has to make are the choice of members of the faculty. Cornell University was young and growing very rapidly, and probably no university president has ever had to choose more new men in the short space of seven

years than Dr. Adams, unless it was President Harper of the University of Chicago. If one considers the long list of eminent men whom he nominated for positions at Cornell, it will not seem strange that he came to have strong confidence in his own judgment. That will help one to understand his remark in a letter to acting-President Birge: "In three cases I yielded to the advice of others, thinking they might be right and I was wrong. But they were wrong and a mistake was made. I do not recall a single case of such yielding on my part, either at Cornell or at the University of Wisconsin, that did not turn out to be harmful. Hear everybody and then do as you think best. *Crede experto.*" That may seem somewhat arrogant, and yet, considering the general high character of his appointments, he had some right to feel so. Such a degree of self-confidence would be ruinous in a weak man of poor judgment at the head of a big university, but it is not a bad thing in the right man. It would be only natural that he should wish his own appointments to make good, and should, perhaps unconsciously, favor them by putting at their disposal all possible means of success. I always felt that in my own case.

It is not easy, of course, to differentiate the essential characteristics of the man from those of the president; for as the man has become the president, so the president, in course of time, is apt more and more to absorb the man. One may become so completely engrossed in his official functions that he is practically always thought of as president. This was especially true in what I believe to have been one of his most striking qualities, namely, interest in other people, especially in students. So far as I can learn from others, this was not a generally recognized quality with him as professor at Ann Arbor. From my own personal contact with him at the University of Wisconsin I was expecting his old University of Michigan students to whom I wrote to lay special stress on personal interest in his pupils as a marked characteristic of his while there, but I seldom heard of anything to indicate close personal

relations. This might have been due to diffidence in the professor. It is still more likely that it was owing to his professorial ambition and absorption in working out his own career. It may be that it was only when he was somewhat released from the strain of achieving personal success in his teaching and had been placed in a relation of general supervision that this latent quality was called into fuller action. He wanted as president to see others doing what he had perhaps neglected as professor. Anyway, he had the quality and unquestionably regarded it as, next to marked intellectual power, the most important in a teacher. Dr. Birge has called attention, in his memorial summary, to Dr. Adams' constant saying, "The University is for the students." That was the dominant note with him as president, and I am bound to believe also as man. "Research," "productive work," were the watchwords with President Van Hise, but with Dr. Adams it was the teaching function that overshadowed all else. The dream of Dr. Van Hise was doubtless an aggregation of eminent specialists, that of Dr. Adams a harmoniously working body of good teachers. Sympathy between the professor and pupil, cooperation between professor and professor, was his ideal. Mrs. Adams told me of his coming home one day and saying with enthusiasm "—— would earn every dollar he gets from the University if he never taught an hour, just by the interest he takes in others." An article by Professor W. J. Ashley, in the Atlantic Monthly (July, 1897), describing the relations between Jowett as master of Balliol College and his pupils, aroused Dr. Adams' enthusiasm more than anything educational I ever knew him to read. He read it at his summer cottage (Mt. Desert) and wrote at once urging me to call the attention of my colleagues to it as portraying the ideal relation between preceptor and pupil. Dr. Adams could never have been the teacher Jowett was; but the Balliol master's ideals appealed to him strongly, for he realized the unspeakable importance of the four critical years between fourteen and eighteen, and felt that the great object of study was "to

elevate and strengthen the character for life." That certainly is the ideal of the university that induces most parents to entrust a son or daughter to its care. Jowett's view, too, of the university as "a bridge which might unite the different classes of society" could not but appeal to one so completely committed to the state university ideal.

I found the one subject that most quickly aroused his interest was the work of my best students. MacLaren's phrase "lads o' pairts" was a common one between us. "What are your lads o' pairts doing?" he would ask. "You haven't said anything about them lately." If I apologized for mentioning an intellectual feat of some student he would reply, "That is what the University is for, to give men like Showerman and Anderson a chance." If after mentioning some instructor of whom I had heard good things, I begged pardon for telling him what he as president must already know, he would reply, "I want you to keep on doing that very thing. How am I ever to know who are the promising young instructors unless men like you keep me posted?" I am sure he liked to pick out and nominate instructors almost as much as full professors. It was with him somewhat as with Napoleon Bonaparte, who would select a sergeant and start him on the way to field-marshal of France. I am sure that was his feeling in choosing Pyre as instructor in English, Kahlenberg in chemistry, Giese in French, Showerman in Latin. This interest in young instructors was doubtless a matter of conscience with him in two ways: from this source as in the case of Privat-Docenten in German universities must eventually come the majority of professors and so he owed it to scholarship to provide for this; and, further, the regents would have to depend on what he as president would say for these young scholars. Doubtless he usually made his nominations of assistants mainly on suggestions of heads of departments, but I think, like a good general of an army, he preferred to know himself whom he was recommending. He would, I think, have felt bad if, as in the case of a president I once heard of, he had recom-

mended a person to another president, and then, sending for the young man to come for personal inspection, was astonished to have his nominee enter as Miss ——.

In support of my own view, I may quote from one of my colleagues: "To the good and earnest student he was always an inspiration, and he sought to find out from the students how they were getting along and what departments they were especially interested in, and why." Mr. —— told me that one day President Adams met him on State Street and that the conversation ran about like this: "I suppose you are a student?" "Yes." "What subjects are you particularly interested in?" "Chemistry and Physics." Inquiring then who his instructors were and what phases of these subjects most interested him, the President asked: "How do you students like ——?" "All good students like him." Then, with a smile, the President said: "That is just what I like to know. The University is interested in good, earnest students; in fact these are the only students the University is really interested in."

It is perhaps clear from what has been said about Dr. Adams' hospitality that he was sociable in his inclinations, and that showed itself in his recreations. He took exercise perhaps as a matter of duty rather than pleasure—was never given, I imagine, to long walks, to mountain climbing, to fishing or hunting. He used to like bowling, and not infrequently would call out to Secretary Hiestand, about five p.m.: "Now it is time to go to the bowling alley." And there the two would join Pyre, and perhaps others of the young instructors, at ten pins. He showed his interest in bowling still further in that, through Mr. Hiestand, he invited members of the Legislature who might care for such sport to use the alleys at the gymnasium. Mr. Hiestand would be there at least once a week to have everything ready—alleys and swimming tank—for the solons that might come. In this the President was looking, of course, to appropriations as well as the fun and health of the legislators. Still another form of recreation he indulged in for a time—horseback riding. Senator

Spooner offered him his choice between either of a pair of horses, and the President left the choice to Mr. Hiestand, as knowing more of such matters. Mr. Hiestand chose the mare "Bess" as the more sure-footed of the two. Horseback exercise the President enjoyed, though not to the degree that President Van Hise was afterwards devoted to it. But it did not last long, for already signs of kidney trouble had appeared and the doctor forbade that exercise. So the President offered "Bess" to Mr. Hiestand as a gift, but under the same conditions that he had accepted her from Senator Spooner. The following letter gives these terms.

May 7, 1900.

Dear Hiestand: I like your idea in regard to "Bess," except I want you to accept her in the same sense that I accepted her from the Senator. In case Mrs. Spooner should be in condition to ride again and should desire to do so, I intended to place "Bess" at her disposal. In other words I transfer all of my right to her to you.

He used to play chess at times—for example at Ann Arbor with young Comstock, and at the University of Wisconsin occasionally with his secretary. Dr. Charles S. Sheldon is the possessor of his handsome chess outfit, which was presented to him by President Adams. When golf became a common sport, he learned the game and in vacations got much pleasure and profit from it and from the associations it brought in its train. His letters and those of Mrs. Adams show this, though there was never anything to indicate that he ever became a golf fiend. I imagine he never played cards, but billiards he certainly played occasionally, as indicated in one of Mr. Hanks' stories; though I imagine it was Mr. Hanks' company more than the billiard table that was the object of his visits.

All these games meant companionship for him. That he must have as a relief from work and strain. He liked to dine out, I think, for the sake of good company; and he often made calls, but probably never general calls, rather only upon a chosen few. These were apt to be among the first people in town, and for that reason he was sometimes

charged, especially after his marriage to the second Mrs. Adams, with cultivating aristocratic company. But as president of the University he had the choice of the best, and it was perfectly natural that having to choose, since his leisure time was limited, he should have been seen oftenest at General Fairchild's, Mr. Breese Stevens' or Mr. Hanks'. I feel quite sure that it was this circle that made Madison seem so attractive to him on his first visit.

A brief characterization of these three intimates may help one to understand Adams the man. Mr. Stevens was chairman of the committee to nominate the new president and I imagine on that first visit President Adams must have been his guest. A more delightful host can hardly be imagined. Mr. Stevens kept "open house." He loved to entertain, and his wife was proverbial for her good housekeeping. There was good fare, handsome furniture, fine taste apparent everywhere, and manners that made you feel welcome and at home. And what a regent Mr. Stevens was! At the time of his death he had been serving on the board for fourteen consecutive years. I knew him better perhaps than any of the other regents, and, thinking how often I had seen him showing visitors about the University, I remarked one day: "It seems to me, Mr. Stevens, you spend a great deal of time in looking after the affairs of the University." After a moment, he said, "Yes, I believe I average about two hours a day in the University's service." A regent gets no pay, only his expenses are paid; and as Mr. Stevens was a resident of Madison there were no expenses in his case. Think of a leading lawyer and wealthy man devoting so much of his valuable time gratis to a great public cause! The position of regent means hard work, but it was one that he delighted in. There are millions of dollars to be looked after by the regents every year; but this unpaid honor, which requires such close and unremitting attention, is as highly prized as the greatest public offices with big pay. What President White said, in his *Autobiography* (I. 428), about Henry W. Sage reminds me of Mr. Stevens:

During the first nine years the chairmanship of the board was held by Mr. Cornell; but at his death Mr. Henry W. Sage was elected to it, who, as long as he lived, discharged his duties with the greatest conscientiousness and ability. To the finances of the University he gave that shrewd care which had enabled him to build up his own immense business. Freely and without compensation he bestowed upon the institution labor for which any great business corporation would have gladly paid him a large sum.

Mr. Hanks had been regent for some years before President Adams came, but went off the board when the democratic administration of Governor Peck came in. His business standing and his social gifts attracted the new president, and they became intimate. Probably no one ever more appreciated or filled more worthily the high office of regent than Mr. Hanks did. Once, I remember, I said to him: "There are many members of the faculty who would like to see you on the board again." He answered quickly, "I confess I had rather be a regent of the University of Wisconsin than Governor of the state." Those who know Mr. Hanks' public spirit, business sagacity, remarkable memory of details and friendly ways, would know that any president would be glad and proud of his friendship.

General Fairchild was not a member of the board of regents—though he was chairman of the board of visitors—but he was recognized as the most influential man in town, with the possible exception of Senator Vilas, who at that time was United States Senator at Washington. The General would have attracted the attention of a man like Dr. Adams even if he had never heard of his record as commander of the Iron Brigade at Gettysburg and of his civil career as governor, consul-general at Liverpool, minister at Madrid, etc. I used to think, as he walked the streets near the Capitol—a handsome man, an old soldier with an empty sleeve, the bearing of a man of distinction, and yet just a simple well-dressed, genial gentleman whom anybody might address—that his mere presence was the most important single asset offered by this university town toward the upbuilding of high ideals among the

young men who flocked here. President Adams knew, of course, as everybody knew, that the General's word would go further than any man's to influence the Legislature. And so every crisis in an appropriation bill was sure to find the President, with General Fairchild at his back, in the committee-room. And the General, who believed in the University, whose children studied there, never was appealed to in vain for support by President Adams. Mention has been made elsewhere of his part in the convocation that won the phenomenal appropriation of 1895, and it was his advice that settled the purchase of Camp Randall.

But while President Adams' social taste was somewhat aristocratic, his sympathies were with the youth who had to make his own way in life more than with the possessor of wealth. He never forgot his own early career or ceased to be proud that he had worked his way through college. It was the fact that the state university above all others offers opportunity to the moneyless boy of brains and ambition that held his unwavering allegiance to such institutions of learning. He knew from experience that talent and industry would break down any hedges that money and class sentiment could ever grow in the great school of the people.

As a striking characteristic of Dr. Adams' administration there has already been mentioned the hospitality dispensed at the President's house to distinguished visitors. I recall especially some of the lecturers who were entertained by him. Generally a formal dinner was given, to which members of the faculty were invited. Special classical lecturers are mentioned elsewhere in this volume. Among others I remember especially Andrew D. White, Ian MacLaren, Dr. Knight the editor of Wordsworth, Professor Goodwin, Professor Percy Gardner, Dr. Storrs, and Professor Corson. Ex-President White was perhaps Dr. Adams' best friend. He came to Madison to give an address before the State Historical Society, and was the

guest of President and Mrs. Adams for several days. An elaborate dinner was given in his honor, to which were invited members of the faculty and distinguished townsmen. I was not at that dinner, because Mrs. Adams accorded me the special privilege of lunching with him and her and Dr. White next day, and thus hearing him talk to better advantage. Dr. White did most of the talking, and we sat long at lunch. It was a great treat for the brain not less than for the stomach.

But I remember still more vividly the visit of Dr. Knight. He lectured one Saturday evening in March 1898, and a dinner was given him by President Adams, with the help of Mrs. Sober, who was keeping house for the President during the absence of Mrs. Adams in California. I was away at a classical meeting at Ann Arbor, and did not get home until past midnight after the lecture. But next morning came a telephone invitation to meet Dr. Knight at lunch. He was to take a 5 p.m. train and there was no other company. He came down from his room just before lunch, and I recall a feeling of disappointment during the first few minutes. The visitor showed no signs of exerting himself to be especially entertaining. Presently Dr. Adams asked me something about our little University Heights Club for the reading of poetry, which had given a whole winter to Wordsworth. At once Dr. Knight was alert and asked about the club. Then he became thoroughly alive and talked about Wordsworth, Browning, Matthew Arnold and Tennyson, pouring out reminiscences about how they looked and talked and read. At one point he went up-stairs to get his paper on Browning to illustrate something, and then read most of it to us. We must have been at table some three hours, and all that time there was a stream of delightful talk. Mrs. Sober told me afterward that I need not regret missing the lecture the night before, this impromptu performance was far more interesting. Certainly the distinguished Wordsworthian was thoroughly aroused and probably would have kept on talking indefinitely but for the approach of train time.

Incidentally I recall that Dr. Adams told me how uncomfortable the Scotchman seemed to be in a warm American home. The windows had to be opened for him and he seemed more at ease when the mercury in the room was down to 39° than at 70°. Another Scotch peculiarity came out when they reached the railway station. He had not been offered a toddy, and seeing a saloon open ran over to get a drop of whiskey.

Professor Corson's visit to the University was a great occasion. He was to have been the President's guest, but he was ill and had to turn over his guest to Professor Snow, another ex-Cornellian. Professor Corson remained several days, and never probably was a lecturer more fully utilized. He gave public lectures and readings to crowded houses at the University and private readings at Professor Snow's and elsewhere. It was a constant ovation and the distinguished Browning scholar was glad to respond to such enthusiasm. Dr. Adams had me come to his sick-room to tell him of Professor Corson's reception and the general impression he was making on the University and the town. He was immensely delighted with Corson's success and the stimulus his visit would give to the cause of good literature at the University. He had told me before how popular Professor Corson was at Cornell as an interpreter of literature, how his public readings attracted crowds at Ithaca, of townspeople—especially women—as well as students, and how he had read the whole of Shakespeare's dramas on successive Saturdays in a single year.

Some such exponent of English literature, filled with contagious enthusiasm for his subject and a good reader, he evidently craved for the University of Wisconsin, and for such a man he was on the lookout at the time of his break-down. A passage in Andrew D. White's *Autobiography* expresses not only his own ideal but something which Dr. Adams greatly wished to see at Wisconsin:

> To several of these I have alluded elsewhere but one should be especially mentioned to whom every member of the faculty must feel a debt of gratitude—Professor Hiram Corson. No one has done more to redress the balance between the technical side and the human-

ities. His writings, lectures, and readings have been a solace and an inspiration to many of us, both in the faculty and among the students. It was my remembrance of the effects of his reading that caused me to urge in a public address at Yale in 1903, the establishment not only of professorships but of readerships in English literature in all our great institutions, urging especially that the readers thus called should present, with little if any note or comment, the masterpieces of our literature. I can think of no provision which would do more to humanize the great body of students, especially in these days when other branches are so largely supplanting classical studies, than such a continuous presentation of the treasures of our language by a thoroughly good reader. What is needed is not more talk about literature, but the literature itself. And here let me recall an especial service of Professor Corson which may serve as a hint to men and women of light and leading in the higher education of our country. On sundry celebrations of Founder's Day, and on various other commemorative occasions, he gave in the University chapel recitals from Milton, Wordsworth, Tennyson and other poets of the larger inspiration, while organ interludes were given from the great masters of music. Literature and music were thus made to do beautiful service as yoke-fellows. It has been my luck to enjoy in various capitals of the modern world many of the things which men who have a deep feeling for art most rejoice in, but never have I known anything more uplifting and ennobling than these simple commemorations.

I think that President Adams had a special talent for friendship. In the last fifteen or sixteen years of his life, during which he was president, he sometimes felt the isolation of his position. In his last years at Madison he would sometimes call me to the telephone in the evening, and I could guess from the tone of his voice, before he could say anything, what was coming. "Are you very busy?" "Not if I can do anything for you," I would reply. "Then I wish you would come down for a little while; I want to talk with you." At such times he was apt to say, "A college presidency is the loneliest place in the world." He liked to talk sometimes with the absolute freedom and unreserve that one indulges in only with intimate friends.

If we may judge from his letters, four men were closer to his heart than any others: Andrew D. White. Moses Coit Tyler, J. B. Angell, and B. I. Wheeler. Perhaps the very closest ties were with White and Tyler, and in illus-

tration of the quality of his friendship I confine myself to quotations from letters of these two, having no intimate letters from the others. To Dr. White he was more indebted than to any other man. "To the inspiration of your lectures and your advice more than any other source, I owe my fondness for historical study," was the tribute he paid to his teacher in the preface to the first book he published. To him he owed his appointment to teach history at the University of Michigan, his call to the presidency of Cornell University, and probably also that to the University of Wisconsin. In the archives of Cornell University are preserved many letters of his to Dr. White, but from these I shall quote only three, which breathe a spirit at once of admiration and affection.

May 17, 1883.

My dear Friend: You will think me out of the world when I tell you that I have just read for the first time your address to the students and friends of the university. But the truth is that for many months past I have been so provincial as not to take a New York daily paper; and the consequence is that I have seen only vague references to the assault and to the reply. So, if my words seem a little belated, please charge the fact to my chronic disgust with the worthlessness of the metropolitan journals.

But I cannot desist from sending you a word of affectionate regard in what must be a season of some annoyance and trial. I wish to tell you how much I admire that self-sacrifice and devotion which has inspired you to hold on in spite of all temptations to a life of literary ease, whenever I reflect how natural it would be to withdraw to the delightful companionship of your books and your congenial friends in literary labor, and I bow down in admiration of a devotion to a great idea as noble as it is unusual. That University is a great fact; and your connection with its establishment and development will always be held as a sacred remembrance. Whatever the present annoyances to which you may be subject, you have a right to a calm anchorage upon what has been accomplished. All petty complaints will pass away and be forgotten. Two great results will remain. All over this broad land are to be found those who look back to your inspiring guidance as the beginning of higher and nobler aspirations and who never think of you but with an interest which amounts to a warm personal affection. And through them you are having an influence which nothing less than a divine intelligence can measure. In addition to this you will have the substantial monument of the university. When we are all passed away, the thoughtful

scholar who visits those hills will pronounce blessings upon your name; and when the history of the University is fully written your patience and skillful management will have their full reward. Your name will not only be inseparably connected with the establishment of the university but you will be regarded, as you certainly ought to be, as its true founder. Let these two things be your consolation. Whatever the trials of the present, not only the past but the future also is secure.

Please regard this, not as the formal word of one of your professors, but as the informal expression of a pupil and friend who cannot refrain from a word of encouragement and love. Very affectionately yours,

C. K. Adams.

October 15, 1883

My dear Friend: Your noble address on "The Message of the Nineteenth Century, etc.," I took from the postoffice to the train the other day and read it with much deliberation and reflection. My first impulse was to seize a pen at the first opportunity and tell you of the great impression it made upon me. But then I desired to express myself more fully than I could at the moment, and so send you this tardy message. The paper is not with me at the moment, and so I cannot discuss individual phases of it, as I should be glad to do. But it seems to me by far the noblest word you have ever uttered. It sounded to me like the voice of a veritable prophet. The subject is of such solemn and far-reaching importance that a fitting word upon it cannot fail of producing some effect. That it does not attract even greater attention than it has is perhaps the best evidence of the truths which it presents. Ah, my dear friend and master, a man who can preach like that ought to preach often in the largest and highest pulpit, and his preachments ought to reach every thinking mind in the nation. Indeed I don't know that he ought to do anything but preach. The lessons that are borne in upon him as the fruit of his leisurely thought ought to be given to the youth of the nation—not simply to those of a single college. Your vexatious cares and the petty consumption of your energies in small details remind me of the caricature of the great Frederick with the coffee-mill between his knees turning away vigorously with one hand and picking up the stray beans anxiously with the other. It is an unceasing wonder to me that you do not find the best man in the country for your place, and then, retiring to some retreat in the midst of your books, work out your thoughts into an annual course of lectures for the University and the whole country. I have often thought of it as the fitting sequence of your great work. I should think that such a course would have an irresistible temptation to a man of your fortune and your tastes. My own small administrative duties in the

case of the School of Political Science are enough to show me that there are no pleasures like of those of the study and the lecture-room.

The following letter shows how happy he was in his work at Madison after being there two years:

May 23, 1894.

. . . But you will perhaps want to know something of the University of Wisconsin. I am well pleased, if not satisfied, with the result of my two years work. We have in that time completed four buildings that will compare favorably with any other buildings of the kind in the country. The Gymnasium, I believe, is larger than any other, and cost the state $126,000. The Law Building cost $86,000, and, though not quite so large as that of Cornell, is quite as solidly built. The other buildings are smaller, but the dairy house cost $45,000 and the Horticultural Hall $40,000. This summer we are enlarging the shops at an expense of $40,000, and expending about $45,000 in putting all our heating pipes in tunnels and heating from a single plant with smoke-consuming furnaces. So you see in a material way we are bowling along. Our corps of instruction has been increased about thirty-three per cent and our number of students by about the same proportion. Best of all there is a hearty spirit of cooperation on the part of the regents, faculty and students. The board of regents is intelligent and considerate. It is a pleasure—an increasing pleasure—to work with them, for I believe there are no jealousies or misunderstandings, and they are certainly predisposed to think well of whatever is recommended by the President. This I count for more than all else.

So, on the whole, you see that matters are going on well. My wife and I have been very happy in our new home, and we see no threatening clouds on the horizon. Wheeler paid us a visit a year ago and told me that he would rather be president here than at Cornell. If some of the conditions at Cornell could be swept away, the opportunity and promise would certainly be greater than those at Wisconsin; but at present and in the near future it would not be surprising if the growth of the western institution should be quite as rapid as that of the eastern.

His friendship with Moses Coit Tyler was second only to that of Andrew D. White. It began with their association as colleagues at Ann Arbor and ended with death. With Andrew D. White there was never a misunderstanding; with Tyler there was for a time at Cornell a serious break. This occurred at the time of President Adams' attempted reorganization of the history department, and was

much more serious, it would seem, than President Adams was aware of. I imagine he had never meant to give offense to Professor Tyler by that attempt at reorganization, but unwittingly he had deeply wounded his friend. Numerous letters of his to Professor Tyler are preserved in the archives of Cornell University, covering the period of their association as colleagues at the University of Michigan, Professor Tyler's service at Cornell before Dr. Adams' election to the presidency, and the period after Dr. Adams' transfer to the University of Wisconsin. I have read all of these letters, and there is never a hint of any rupture in their relations. But the extracts from the diary of Professor Tyler, published by his daughter, explain the rupture and the reconciliation.

November 20, 1889, Tyler records in his diary: "The great incident of my life since my return home is my breach with President Adams. We are no longer friends—acquaintances merely. Perhaps I shall jot down some day the facts which have dissolved a very intimate relation, lasting nearly twenty years."

November 22, 1889, he writes: "From half past four till a quarter past six, faculty meeting. Another of those painful scenes which have become so frequent under C. K. Adams' rule. I felt real pity for this old pachyderm of a president, persistently reiterating the same blunders and plunging forever into the quagmire deeper and deeper."

December 15, 1889: "A call in the parlor this evening from C. K. Adams. He was not at all at his ease; and gasped and floundered more than usual. I manifested no cordiality, but treated him with cool civility, and the conversation went on for an hour. I accompanied him to the door, and as he walked away he turned half around in an awkward sort of way as if expecting me to say some relenting word. Poor old pachyderm—befooling himself with the dream of being a Bismarck."

January 26, 1890: "Slept but little last night. Unfit for controversy and business; and a war like this is at war with my nature. Regrets and memories poured through

my mind all night. But I am in the path of duty and must not flinch. I was never in a fight before; and I am not going out of this fight behind."

November 24, 1890: "The janitor brought me a big letter from C. K. Adams. It expresses every sort of kind feeling, and offers to name me for promotion. It contains inaccuracies, but opens the way at least for better working relations between us. What I lack is confidence. But I cannot refuse such a proffer of good will."

After this time there was no bitterness in the *Diary,* and to those who are aware of his strong attachment for Professor Tyler it must be a comfort to believe that the breach was healed. An extract from a letter to me dated February 7, 1901, proves that it was:

> I was greatly shocked by the death of Moses Coit Tyler. For more than thirty years, indeed since 1868, we were the most intimate of friends, and during my illness his letters were peculiarly affectionate and touching. He sent me a last word on shipboard, and the next thing I heard was that he had gone. His trouble, so far as I can learn, was the same as mine. It all seems so strange! I wonder if the physicians bungled the matter, or whether his constitution was inadequate. I learn that he surrendered from the very first and made no fight for life. On the whole I am hardly surprised. But the links that connect me with my early days are one after another breaking, and henceforth it is inevitable that I feel myself more and more alone.

As love of fellowmen is the counterpart of love of God, mention of President Adams' piety finds its natural place in connection with his friendships. A marked characteristic of President Adams was his unostentatious but consistent piety. He was a lifelong member of the Congregational church. Mention has been made above of the fact that when acting as principal of a public school at Ann Arbor, the year after his graduation, he resigned his position rather than yield to criticism and give up his practice of opening school with devotional services. Mrs. W—— says that he was a prominent member of the Congregational church at Ann Arbor and a member of the building committee. "He was always present at the Sunday serv-

ices, and, I think, a regular atendant at prayer meeting as well as at the daily chapel service of the University." At Madison he was a member of the Congregational church and a regular attendant on the Sunday services. He was fond of the pastor, Dr. Updike, and used to say that he had never known a preacher who wore better from Sunday to Sunday. Professor Kahlenberg tells how a prominent member of the faculty, calling at the house and inquiring whether President Adams was at home, was told by the negro butler, "Yes, but just now they are at prayers." I had that experience once when I was invited to meet Professor W. G. Hale at breakfast, but fortunately President and Mrs. Adams were expecting me and sent for me to come right up and join them in their devotions. Naturally I appreciated being thus treated like one of the family.

Mention has been made above of his wife's niece, Ada Healy. A letter of his to President Angell, referring to her death, makes very evident what was the religious atmosphere of the household:

Ithaca, New York, November 6, 1887.

My dear Friend:

Our poor suffering child was relieved at ten minutes before eleven o'clock yesterday morning. During the last week she gave the most remarkable evidence of Christian resignation and hope. Since the seventeenth of July her body has been on the rack of torture; and the few that have seen her within the last month have failed utterly to perceive a trace of her former looks. She was almost from the first aware of the gravity of the malady and she talked freely of the certain approach of death. A week ago this morning she asked for a private talk with her aunt, when she said that she knew she could not live many days, that she was entirely ready to go, that her only desire to live was that she might show her love and appreciation of all that her aunt and I have done for her, and she had asked God to forgive all her sins, that she had repented of them all, and that she had the joyful assurance that her death would be but the beginning of happiness. On Friday she expressed a regret that she had not been baptized, whereupon we had Mr. Tyler come in, and the rite of baptism and the sacrament were administered. A few hours later

she sank into a deep sleep, and at eleven yesterday, without consciousness and without a struggle, she simply ceased to breathe. Nothing I have ever heard of or read of has exceeded the beauty of her trust and hope during the past few days.

CHAPTER VIII

THE FIRST AND SECOND MRS. ADAMS

President Adams was married twice. Of the influences which were important in the development and success of Dr. Adams at the University of Michigan and later at Cornell, it is clear that one of the very chiefest was his first wife. It has already been mentioned that he was married to the Widow Abigail Disbrow Mudge August 13, 1863, and that it was probably she who furnished him the means to go for study and travel in Europe, and thus to enter upon his full professorship, in 1868, with good prospects of success. Details of personal information which I have been able to collect about her have been meagre, but, so far as it goes, it is all in her favor. She was born at Rochester, New York, December 30, 1828, and was first married to Samuel Tenney Mudge, a farmer. Of that marriage there was one child, Alfred Eugene Mudge, who made a good record in college and was graduated in 1866. He became a lawyer in New York City, with residence in Brooklyn. His wife was a daughter of Mr. Tenbrook, university librarian, and there were five children. A son of his is now a lawyer in New York, and a daughter, Miss Isadore G. Mudge, a member of the force of the Columbia University Library. Dates show that Mrs. Adams was Dr. Adams' senior by a little more than six years. The marriage seems to have been a happy one and their companionship continued without a jar for twenty-six years, until her death July 5, 1889. His father and mother lived with them for some time, and two nieces of Mrs. Adams, Misses Emma and Ada Healy, were also members of the family.

A member of the class of '77, who was a member of his household for several years, gives some interesting personal touches. Mrs. Adams continued to take boarders for several years after their marriage, and this young lady

boarded there. She took boarders perhaps because family expenses were necessarily heavy, since she had the care and support of two orphan nieces and Professor Adams' parents were also living with them. Mrs. W—— recalls that the wife and children of Eugene Mudge—Mrs. Adams' son by her first marriage—used to visit at Ann Arbor, with Mrs. Mudge's parents, and that "Mrs. Adams was devoted to them and displayed her characteristic spirit in ministering not only to the children but to their mother, a semi-invalid." Professor Adams was fond of the Mudge children, to whom, since he had studied in Germany, he was "Herr Papa," as to the young women boarders he was "Herr Professor." Mrs. —— recalls him on all-fours playing horse with one or two children riding on his back, and his playful remark that King Agesilaus of Sparta used to ride a stick horse with his children.

"In my student days," she says, "his parents occupied a house in the same yard as their son's, and I had a room there. They were dear old people, very religious and, of course, bound up in their son, their only child after the death of a daughter, who died soon after her marriage. Her child, a boy of twelve years, came once to visit his grandparents and his uncle while I was there. Dr. Adams would have liked to educate him, but he was not a promising student and went back to his father. Grandpa Adams was blest in his death, which occurred before his son left Ann Arbor. He went to church one Sunday morning as usual, apparently in his ordinary health, and before night had died. Grandma Adams' death was not so fortunate. She had a lingering illness . . . and went to the home of a cousin in Ohio, where she died, having her son with her at the end."

This was after the second marriage of President Adams, with whom his mother lived at Cornell until her long final illness came on.

Of Mrs. Adams' two nieces, Mrs. W—— says:

Ada took a course in the medical college, married a classmate, and went to Dakota. I saw her some years ago, when we happened both to be revisiting Ann Arbor. She was then a widow with two grown sons. She had been prosperous, and that fact must have been a great comfort to her aunt. Emma was an invalid, a beautiful and very bright girl, astonishingly graceful in walking with a cane, though one limb was six inches shorter than the other. She was a spoiled child, exacting and very inconsiderate of her aunt, at whose patience

and indulgence we marvelled (sometimes indignantly). Mrs. Adams nursed her through a long, severe illness while I was there. She went with them to Ithaca, when Mr. Adams became president of Cornell.

Professor D'Ooge, a colleague of Professor Adams at the University of Michigan, said:

> Mrs. Adams had not enjoyed many advantages in early life, though she was a lady of natural refinement, of character, of scholarly tastes, and of great and noble ambitions. . . . She brought to her new position as the wife of a professor a native dignity of character and grace of manner and many qualities of mind and heart that at once won for herself the esteem of all her associates and secured for her husband large influence. . . . Few women have ever lived in Ann Arbor who had so wide a circle of friends that were devoted to her, and who cherish her memory even to this day.

Professor McLaughlin, who was a student at Ann Arbor in the early 80's, says:

> She was a woman of unusually pleasant manner; a wholesome, capable and attractive person, I always heard and thought. She was credited with tact, humor and prevailing and pervading good sense. . . . She was a simple and unaffected woman, and I am led to believe of great use to her husband, a wise adviser and a source of great strength. I never heard her spoken of except in words of respect and admiration.

Professor Snow, who had been a graduate-student and fellow at Cornell in 1885-86 and instructor in 1890, knew Mrs. Adams slightly. He remembers her as one who had a strong hold upon the faculty circle. He says:

> Both he and his remarkable wife were much beloved by the university people and the residents of Ithaca, and were held in the highest regard. Mrs. Adams, the President's first wife, was a beautiful woman of queenly presence, with a remarkable charm of mind and manner. We all felt that her personality and opinion had great weight with the President, and it was reported that she had not only always exerted a stimulating influence over him, but also had inspired him as a young man to continue his studies. Though quiet, she was a woman of large mind and always brought out the best in those with whom she talked or had to do.

Mrs. W——, who was devoted to both Professor and Mrs. Adams, says the feeling current among Ann Arbor

people was that "C. K. Adams owed everything to his first wife." "I have heard," she adds, "that in Ithaca Mrs. Adams came into her own and was much admired and esteemed. With leisure and a generous income, she had the opportunity to display her social and intellectual talents, which were of a high order. It is my personal opinion that in both, the first Mrs. Adams was at least the equal of the second."

Professor George L. Burr of Cornell remembers her as a gentle, quiet, motherly woman, tall and slender of figure, domestic in tastes and habits, but tactful in things social, and greatly beloved of all who knew her. She was a devoted Christian woman, like her husband a member of the Congregational Church, and was deeply and actively interested in all forms of charitable work. Her household and her happiness seemed to take most of her thought; of her intellectual tastes, though she seemed a woman of reading and thought, I knew little.

There are frequent references to his wife in President Adams' letters to Andrew D. White and to President Angell, every one most kindly and all substantiating the testimony above cited.

Mrs. Adams died at Cornell July 5, 1889, and was buried at Ann Arbor. A memorial window, made in London, was erected by her husband to her memory in the chapel of Cornell University. It contained the figures of three groups of beautiful women engaged in teaching little children, the central one being a likeness of the lady whom the window commemorates and the little ones his wife's grandchildren. Beneath the window is this inscription: "*Beati misericordes quoniam ipsi misericordiam consequentur.* This window is erected in affectionate memory of Abigail Disbrow, beloved wife of Charles Kendall Adams, born at Rochester, New York, December 30, 1828, entered into rest July 5, 1889."

ABIGAIL DISBROW ADAMS

The Mrs. Adams I knew was his second wife. Mary Mathews Adams was born at the hamlet of Granard, near Dublin, Ireland, October 23, 1840. Her father was named John Mathews, and she was his eldest child. He was a Protestant and married a Catholic named Anna Reilly. All of the children—Mary, Jane, Robert, Anna, John—were reared in the faith of the mother, but all except the youngest left the Catholic Church early in life. When Mary was six years of age, the family emigrated to America, settling in Brooklyn. The mother died in Brooklyn about 1860, and the father, who was married a second time twelve years later, died on Staten Island, April 1, 1869. Of her brothers, Robert became a hardware merchant in Rochester, New York, where he died in May 1921; John was a commission merchant in Paterson, New Jersey. Mary studied for some three years at the Packer Collegiate Institute, Brooklyn, but left, before graduating, in 1855, and began to teach at the age of seventeen. The records show that from 1862 to 1868 she taught in Public School Number 15, De Graw Street, Brooklyn. In the autumn of 1869 she was married to Cassius M. Smith of Canandaigua, New York, with whom she migrated two years later to Atchison, Kansas. There was born her only child, a boy who lived less than a year. Mr. Smith seems to have died in 1876, whereupon his widow returned to Brooklyn, and there resumed teaching in the Juvenile High School.

November 7, 1883, she was married to the publisher Albert Smith Barnes, whose first wife had died in 1881, leaving him five sons and three daughters. I have heard—I think the source was Mrs. Adams—that she belonged to the same Congregational church as Mr. Barnes, probably Henry Ward Beecher's church, and so had made the acquaintance of Mr. Barnes. He was a philanthropist, and the large means at her disposal as his wife allowed full play to her generous instincts, especially in assisting her public-spirited husband to distribute his numerous benefactions. Mr. Barnes died February 17, 1888, when just entering his seventy-second year, but during the short

period of their wedded life she was personally concerned in aiding several worthy institutions—especially the Home for Incurables at St. John's Protestant Hospital, Brooklyn.

July 9, 1890, she was married in London to Charles Kendall Adams, with whom she had become acquainted on visits to Cornell with Mr. Barnes, who was a member of the Board of Trustees from 1878 to the time of his death, and one of its prominent benefactors.

Mrs. Adams was an indefatigable reader, especially of poetry, and a lifelong student of Shakespeare. She conducted a club of Madison young women in the study of Shakespeare which former members still refer to in grateful commendation. Her published works were all in verse: *Epithalamium* (New York and London, 1889), *The Choir Visible* (Chicago, 1897), *Sonnets and Songs* (New York and London, 1901). On their removal to California, in the autumn of 1901, Mrs. Adams presented to the Wisconsin State Historical Library her private library, of several hundred volumes, and with her personal jewels endowed the "Mary M. Adams Art Fund" ($4000), to be used for the purchase of art books or objects of art; and to the Historical Society she gave also her fine collection of pictures, bronzes, marbles, terra-cottas, laces, rugs, draperies, etc.

Mrs. Adams, when I first met her, in 1894, was fifty-four years of age and still a handsome woman. She was a blonde with fair hair, blue eyes, full round face, regular features and winning expression, and clear sweet voice. In her youth she must have been beautiful. Dr. Adams is said to have been in his youth somewhat uncouth and in early middle age was far from handsome; but to judge from the photographs, I have never known a man to improve so much in appearance with increase of years. His form and face had rounded out, all harsh lines had disappeared, his features had softened, and about the man there was an air of dignity, repose and reserve. He had filled large positions and had the look of one who had lived among noteworthy people. When President of the Uni-

versity of Wisconsin he and his wife were a distinguished looking pair. She was fond of good society, a woman of rare charm of manner, a pleasing conversationalist, and a gracious hostess. Together they bounteously dispensed a hospitality that was worthy of their position. As long as they were in good health they regularly entertained distinguished people who visited Madison, and friends of the institution could always be sure that the impression made upon such visitors by University Hill was confirmed by the entertainment received at the President's house.

Their social influence is thus felicitously described by Professor Pyre in his history of the University.

> Though he by no means fell short of an appreciation of the true inwardness of learning, President Adams attached far more importance than either of his immediate predecessors to the amenities of life. Stevenson's observation, that it is no mean part of a gentleman's education to know a good cigar, might not have scandalized him beyond all measure. His stipulation at the time of his appointment, that an annual allowance of $500 for entertainment be appended to his salary, produced a raising of eyebrows in some quarters, and the twitter excited by the sounds of carpentry at the President's house, the summer before his arrival, was not confined to the birds. With the aid of Mrs. Adams, whose private means and social gifts contributed to this end, the new head exercised a hospitality quite beyond what the University had known or has ever known. There were homes in the city of equal or greater taste in entertainment, but they had been very sparingly accessible to the members of the University. On Friday nights the President's house was "open," and people actually went, and went in great numbers. To many, students and faculty alike, whose lives had been barren of material refinements, the possessions of the house, its books on European travel, its table, and the subjects and manner of the conversation, shed a new light on social intercourse.
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> Until ill health, first of one and then of both, curtailed their social activity, the President and his wife were often seen in public. They had the happiness, moreover, of making their presence at a public function seem the effect of a vital interest rather than a perfunctory official appearance. A good play was quite certain to bring them to the theater. Any form of cultivated recreation received the encouragement of their patronage or their hospitality. It was to extend and elevate the appreciation of music, primarily, that the School of Music was organized in 1894 and the formation of the Choral Union was directly due to the President's influence. One of the warmest

desires of President Adams was to hear more singing among the undergraduates. "A great university is a singing university," he frequently said. In some measure he had his wish, for student singing increased very notably during his time and, with one or two exceptions, all the best Wisconsin songs date from that period. In all spontaneous activities of the undergraduates, their social recreations, their athletic contests, their dramatic and literary endeavors, the President and Mrs. Adams took an affectionate and unaffected interest, desiring only that these might be controlled toward their legitimate objects of actually enriching the life of the University and refining its manners.

I think Mrs. Adams had not been entirely happy at Cornell, and Dr. Adams' administration, though a period of great growth and marked advance for the University, had not been a happy one for him. This was probably especially true after his second marriage, and his wife shared his feeling. I never heard her say anything about it, and just what the trouble was I have been unable to ascertain. Perhaps she did not quite fit in there. She was fifty years old when she went to Cornell as the wife of the President. She had never been a member of a college community before, and possibly did not have time to adapt herself to the situation in the two years she was there.

But she was happy in Madison from the start, and was very helpful to her husband. She made many friends among the townspeople as well as in university circles; she attracted students to her "at homes" as they had never been drawn before or since; she loved to welcome the University's distinguished visitors. She did not please everybody, of course. Being of Irish birth and ancestry, and impulsive by nature, she was misunderstood and disliked by some. When she wanted to be most gracious, she was sometimes not given credit for sincerity. She spoke right out the impulsive good thought that first came into her mind, offering many times to do more than any one could possibly do, and so she was sure to be misinterpreted. If one were inclined always to compare closely promise and performance, making little allowance for her wide range of interests and her busy life, the judgment

would sometimes be harsh and unjust. But there can be no doubt that she always meant well, that she loved the University of Wisconsin and the community of Madison; and wished above all things to help her husband succeed as president and make everybody—especially the students—happy about her.

I never knew a more generous soul. She gave so freely of her means, to assist students especially, that one year, I was told, she used up all her annuity and had to borrow from the President. I remember one promising young man, a classical student who had been stricken with ill-health in his senior year, whose mother she regularly supplied with rich milk from the University dairy, till he went as a last hope to a physician in Chicago. I have mentioned above a promising graduate student whom she offered to send to Europe for study. These cases are only typical; and they are proofs at once of her generosity of spirit and of her loyalty to the University.

I know no particulars about her first marriage; but in the other two I am sure she was happy. Mr. Barnes, though much older than herself, was a most estimable man. His philanthropic inclinations made it easy for her to indulge the generous instincts of her heart in charitable benefactions, as well as to gratify her taste for travel and for beautiful things—works of art, fine rugs and laces, and elegant jewels and dressing. Her marriage to the president of a great university doubtless most completely satisfied her ambition. It introduced her to literary circles which she enjoyed, and gave her an opportunity to watch and foster the development of promising young men and women, and to wield a wider influence than even wealth could afford her. She was not far from President Adams in age—five years younger—and not only admired the man for his character, but was in close sympathy with his aims and tastes. She made the interior of the President's house very attractive. Bric-a-brac, furniture, pictures, were all in excellent taste; and who can ever forget her joy in the view over Lake Mendota from her back

porch—her "million dollar view" she used to call it. Her bedroom was so situated that she could look out from her bed upon the dawn. Once at least she could not refrain from waking her husband and calling, "Do look out at the dawn!" "My dear, I don't want to see any more dawns in this world," replied the tired man; but the humor with which he told of the incident afterward proved there had been no scolding. Her letters from California, as well as from Europe, showed that her eye was always alert for lovely things in the landscape and the sky.

She had a loving heart and was unfeignedly fond of children. The greatest longing of her soul, I am sure, was to be a mother, but she was denied the fruition of that desire, her only child dying before it was a year old. But she carried it in her heart forever afterward as her sweetest memory. When she especially liked some promising boy in later years, she would think of the little boy she had lost and say to herself, "He would be like that now; he would be entering college now." Sometimes when President Adams wrote me like this, "My wife was delighted almost beyond measure with Warren's letter. If possible I believe she loves a boy better than a little girl," I was sure that the memory of the little boy she had lost explained it all. In her letters to me are frequent injunctions like the following: (Lookout Mountain Inn, March 30, 1896.) "I hope the children are well and happy. Please kiss each for me, and then two extra for 'our darling little Du Pré." (Pasadena, March 20, 1898.) "Kiss those who are with you for me—and Du Pré twice. Bless him! I am so glad I have him to think of."

She said to Miss Gale shortly before her death, "If I could write one song that would be immortal I would ask nothing more." Her greatest ambition was to be a poet. She had extraordinary facility in writing verse. "What my wife couldn't write a sonnet about!" was a remark of President Adams one day, not meant at all to be satirical or unappreciative. In her three volumes are some very pretty poems, but they did not meet with all the recogni-

MARY MATHEWS ADAMS

tion she had hoped for. Yet these supreme disappointments—the loss of her little boy, the lack of the highest success with her poems—did not sour her disposition; they only made her more tender and gentle.

CHAPTER IX

PRESIDENT ADAMS AS WRITER
BIBLIOGRAPHY

President Adams' published historical works probably give no adequate idea of what he might have accomplished if he could have devoted himself to writing. That he had a definite ambition to make a name for himself as a historian may be inferred from the fact that when he resigned the presidency of Cornell University it was understood that he would devote his leisure to writing. From the time he became instructor in history at the University of Michigan, one year after graduation, to his call to the presidency of Cornell he had his hands full as teacher and lecturer in a popular department of university work; after 1885 his energies were so engrossed with executive duties that he could neither teach nor write.

His first volume, *Democracy and Monarchy in France, from the Inception of the Great Revolution to the Overthrow of the Second Empire* (New York, 1872) is a good piece of work. It was based on a course of university lectures, as the style shows. It seems to be the product of careful study, but it was intended primarily for his classes, and probably was changed little with a view to its appearance as a book. It attracted much attention, and was republished in a German version the following year (Stuttgart, 1873). "The book is written in a highly conservative spirit," says President Angell. "It shows wide reading of the best authorities. The leading events in the history of the French government during the last hundred years are sketched in a most vivacious and interesting style, and the analysis of the forces which shaped events is thorough and searching."

The Manual of Historical Literature (New York, 1884),

which passed through several editions, is probably the work by which he would have been most willing to be judged. It gives the titles of the most important historical works and tersely describes and characterizes each. It is surprising how suggestive and readable these brief characterizations are. I felt it my duty to sample the book, though a manual of literature of any kind is not the sort of reading that I naturally take for enjoyment. To my surprise my sense of duty soon turned to interest, and I read a large part of the book. The characterizations of the works with which I was already familiar gave me a feeling of confidence regarding other important authorities on which I wished to get a competent judgment, and I could readily understand how it had been welcomed by teachers and earnest students of history. The original idea was Andrew D. White's, but, like his chair of history, he turned it over entirely to his successor. Having finished in 1875 a bibliographical introduction to O'Connor Morris' *Short History of the French Revolution,* he says:

> It occurred to me that a much more extensive work, giving a selection of the best authorities on all the main periods of modern history, might be useful. This I began, and was deeply interested in it; but here, as in various other projects, the fates were against me. Being appointed a commissioner to the French Exposition, and seeing in this an opportunity to do other work which I had at heart, I asked my successor in the professorship of history at the University of Michigan, who at a later period became my successor as President of Cornell, Dr. Charles Kendall Adams, to take the work off my hands. This he did, and produced a book far better than any which I could have written. The kind remarks in his preface regarding my suggestions I greatly prize, and feel that this project at least, though I could not accomplish it, had a most happy issue.

Professor Adams also edited a collection of British orations in three volumes (1884), furnishing biographical sketches of the authors and explanatory notes. Orations were selected which had been especially influential in shaping public policy during the last three centuries. This publication deserves to be classed with his *Manual of Historical Literature.* The biographical introductions to the

orations selected are well written and decidedly interesting. The style is simple, direct, clear, betraying no effort at fine writing, but holding the attention by the skill and enthusiasm which characterise the treatment. The orations will live, of course, and these short sketches do not unworthily introduce them.

The next year he went to Cornell as president, and afterward found time only for occasional addresses, except a single volume, *Christopher Columbus* (1892). This is of much less importance than any of his other works. It seems to have been written to order, and is not of great significance from the point of view of either historical or literary merit.

To accomplish so much literary work along with his teaching, it goes without saying that he was a man of the greatest industry. "I have known only a few men," said President Angell, "who had such capacity for continuous and exacting work." His inaugural and baccalaureate addresses at Cornell and at the University of Wisconsin, while not marked by striking eloquence, betray wide knowledge, especially of history and literature, good taste, and sound judgment based upon large experience. President Angell says:

> As a speaker he was somewhat lacking in fluency. His deliverance was marred by a certain slowness of utterance. But his matter was so solid, so weighted with valuable facts, so enriched with pertinent and interesting illustrations drawn from the widest range of reading and observation, that he won and held the attention of his audience, and left them grateful for the instructiveness of his discourse. Especially when he had occasion to discuss university problems his words were full of knowledge of the history and present condition of all the best institutions in the world, and indeed of knowledge of the great scholars who have given them their fame and shaped their policies.

The lecture of his which he thought the best was never published, and I have never seen it. Meeting me one day near Music Hall he said, "I gave my best lecture yesterday, and you were not there." "I was out of town, Mr. President, or I would have been there," I answered. He

referred to the paper on *Queen Louise,* given in his course on Prussian history. He wished this paper to be sent to me after his death, but somehow it never reached me.

One bit of writing of his is destined to long life. This is the declaration of the board of regents with regard to freedom of teaching on the part of members of the faculty—the outcome of Dr. Ely's trial for academic heresy in 1894. It was written by President Adams,[1] and has come to be regarded as part of the Wisconsin Magna Charta.

> As regents of a university with over one hundred instructors supported by nearly two millions of people who hold a vast diversity of views regarding the great questions which at present agitate the human mind, we could not for a moment think of recommending the dismissal or even criticism of a teacher, even if some of his opinions should, in some quarters, be regarded as visionary. Such a course would be equivalent to saying that no professor should teach anything which is not accepted by everybody as true. This would cut our curriculum down to very small proportions. We cannot for a moment believe that knowledge has reached its final goal or that the present condition of society is perfect. We must therefore welcome from our teachers such discussions as shall suggest the means and prepare the way by which knowledge may be extended, present evils be removed and others prevented. We feel that we would be unworthy the position we hold if we did not believe in progress in all departments of knowledge. In all lines of academic investigation it is of the utmost importance that the investigator should be absolutely free to follow the indications of the truth wherever they may lead. *Whatever may be the limitations which trammel inquiry elsewhere, we believe the State University of Wisconsin should ever encourage that continual and fearless sifting and winnowing by which alone truth can be found.*

A bronze tablet inscribed with the last sentence, presented to the University by the class of 1910, is affixed to the wall on the left of the main entrance of Bascom Hall.

The following papers are to be found in the library of the University of Wisconsin, or that of the Historical Society, and probably form the greater part of his minor publications.

Historical Sketch of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1876.

[1]See Pyre's *History,* p. 293, footnote.

Relations of the Higher Education to National Prosperity; Oration at the University of Vermont, 1876.

Higher Education in the State, *New Englander,* 1878.

Relations of Political Science to National Prosperity; Address at the University of Michigan, 1881.

Educational System of Germany, Lansing, Michigan, 1882.

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Inaugural at Cornell, Development of Higher Education in America, 1885.

Washington and the Higher Education, Cornell University, February 22, 1888.

A Plea for Scientific Agriculture; New York State Farmers' Institute, 1888.

Recent Historical Work in Colleges and Universities in Europe; Inaugural Address as President of the American Historical Association, 1890.

Some Recent Discoveries Concerning Columbus, American Historical Association, 1891.

Inaugural at the University of Wisconsin; The University and the State, January, 1893.

Responsibility of Liberty, Baccalaureate, University of Wisconsin, 1893.

University Ideals; Address before the University of Illinois, 1894.

Limitations of Reform, Baccalaureate, 1894.

The Predominence of Character, Baccalaureate, 1895.

Doctrine Not in Point, *Milwaukee Sentinel,* January 11, 1896.

The Venezuela Question, *University of Wisconsin* 1896.

The University of Michigan, Sources of Its Power and Success; Address University of Michigan, 1896.

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The Present Obligations of the Scholar, Baccalaureate, 1897.

Colonies and Other Dependencies, *Forum,* March 1899,

Irresistible Tendencies, Baccalaureate, 1899 (*Atlantic,* September, 1899).

Intellectual Leadership in American History (Volume of Representative Phi Beta Kappa Orations, edited by C. S. Northrup, 1915).

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